



DILEMMAS OF THE ARAB SPRING

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“The Khilafah is a state for all people, Muslim and Non-Muslim, to live under the system ordained for them by their Creator, where the leader is chosen by them and accounted by them, and no man, ruler or ruled is above the divine law, that was sent to establish the truth, uphold divine justice and spread the message of Islam to the world. The rights of all are secured, their needs satisfied and their dreams pursued. It is a state where women are honoured, the weak and vulnerable protected, wealth is circulated throughout society, not only amongst the rich, and where people live in harmony with themselves, their family, neighbours, community, society, environment and their Lord”¹

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Introduction

For the Muslim World, 2011 will remain long in the memory when the history books are finally written. What began with a single man in the markets of Tunisia spread to thousands on the streets in Cairo and evolved to hundreds of thousands demanding political change for the entire region. The self immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia created a sweeping wave, which crossed the artificial border to Egypt, then to Libya, Yemen and Bahrain until it engulfed most of the Muslim world. The Arab spring has seen many brave the streets to protest and change the status quo which has dominated the political, economic and social landscape for so long. The reaction of the Muslim rulers was as predictable as it was brutal with violent clampdowns leaving thousands dead and many more injured.

The nations of the Muslim world won their so called independence a long time ago, but they became corrupt dictatorships, neglected their peoples and became ruthless political tools of western governments. The Muslim lands became characterised with rulers who remain in power for life and remain above the law. Their cronies are beyond approach, leading to corruption. Elections at most are farcical – when they take place, whilst holding any ruler to account is non-existent. Most rulers have tactics that make the KGB look soft in maintaining societal cohesion.

Today, under the plethora of secular models, the people of the Muslim World have no political rights, endure crippling living standards due to high prices and even higher taxes, and have zero international influence. Yet despite this tragedy, some in the Muslim World, backed by their supporters in the West, believe that a reformation of a secular constitutional order, the imposition of western friendly leaders and a continued commitment to the same foreign policy that has long marginalised the Muslim world is the way to proceed. This approach is not only delusional, but if left unchecked will lead to further eventual disintegration of the Muslim World.

The Western constructed architecture of supporting, funding, arming and defending dictator rulers is now falling apart, this space is now the new battle ground. For decades, the despots of the Muslim world have pursued a set of narrow interests which have sidelined their own people: securing the free flow of commerce for the west, fighting against the Islamic revival and standing up for Israel's security at the expense of the Palestinians. Yet now, after decades of despotic rule and western interference, the political situation is in flux.

For the moment Libya is the only country that has experienced regime change, some of the other countries have only had a change in leadership, whilst the regimes remain in place. Western governments and their media have branded the call for change in the region as a call for democracy and Western values of freedom and secularism. Some in the Muslim world have called for Western aid and intervention, in the hope that change comes to the region, not understanding the Western agenda.

The Muslims of the Arab world face a real dilemma. The Arab world has not experienced the true face of democracy, freedom and secularism, unlike the subcontinent where Democracy has brought corrupt politicians loyal to the West to power. It is with this in mind we look at the dilemmas the Ummah faces in the Arab Spring.

The challenges in forming a new politics which creates an accountable government, allows the people to elect their rulers, have independent judiciaries, rights for citizens and an end to the police state.

Despite possessing abundant mineral and capital wealth only the ruling elites have prospered from the Ummah's resources. The Muslim world needs a new economics and not more of the same failed policies designed in Western capitals. We will look at how economic development, job creation, economic growth, wealth distribution all rooted in Islam can replace poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment.

The Arab spring has seen men, women, old, young, Christian, Muslim, labourers and professionals take to the streets to remove their rulers. The West with their experience in nation building in Iraq and Afghanistan insist that the rights of women, minorities, sects and religion are best preserved by secularism. We assess secularisms track record and look at what Islam – something indigenous to the region has to offer.

The West has for long viewed the Muslim world as territory to be used for furthering its interests. The West has cultivated individuals, political parties and made contact with elites who ensured that an Islamic revival was always stopped in its tracks. We look at the real face of Western foreign policy and what democracy, human rights and self determination really mean. We also evaluate how the Muslim world can break free from foreign interference, reunify with the wider Muslim world and become truly independent.

The reference to capitalism in this book is to the system of governance, free markets and freedoms that have evolved in the West. Whilst many may refer to capitalism when only looking at the economy in the West which is usually characterized by free markets and deregulation, in this book liberalism, democracy, freedom and secularism is used synonymously with Capitalism. The views also expressed in this book are those of the author

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Analysing the Arab Spring

The Arab spring began with the self immolation of Muhammed Bouazizi in Tunisia in December 2010. This set off a catalogue of events which led to mass protests eventually bringing to an end the brutal dictatorship of Zine El Abadine Ben Ali. This then spread to Egypt, where many marched to Tahrir square and occupied it calling for the removal of Hosni Mubarak, who also eventually fell. The call for change then spread to Libya, where the West intervened militarily, the quick gains of the rebels of Benghazi have given way to a protracted struggle, which after 5 months drove the Gaddafi family from Libya's capitol – Tripoli. Protests then began in the South of Syria and gained momentum which has led to a brutal crackdown by the Assad regime. As all of this was going on the Muslim of Yemen came onto the streets and have been calling for the removal of Ali Abdullah-Saleh. Massive demonstrations have also taken place in Bahrain, with the Pearl Roundabout in Manama becoming a symbol of the protesters. After a violent crackdown by the regime of King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa, Saudi Arabia under the guise of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) sent around 1000 of its own troops to protect the regime from falling.

Egypt

Egypt's ruling military generals promised elections but have delayed elections and have unveiled plans that could see them retain power for even longer. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) took control of Egypt after the toppling of President Hosni Mubarak in February, and initially promised to return to their barracks within six months. But since then the "roadmap" to an elected, civilian government has been beset by delays and controversies.

Once the US decided to turn its back on Hosni Mubarak it was just a matter of time before he was physically forced from power. What has occurred in Egypt is that the architecture Mubarak and his predecessors constructed still remains in place. Effectively an 82-year-old man, who wanted to have his son appointed as his successor, was booted out by the army. Except for Mubarak, the army remains in charge of Egypt. An army that is heavily financed and trained by America, whose leaders: Chief of Staff Lt.Gen. Sami Annan and Defence Minister Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawi were in constant contact with the US throughout the uprising.

On assuming power the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) suspended the constitution whilst both houses of parliament were dissolved, they also declared the military would rule for six months until elections could be held. The prior cabinet would continue to serve as a caretaker government until a new one was formed. No change occurred in relations with the US and Israel, these remain intact.

A constitutional referendum held in March 2011 saw only a 41% turnout to limit presidential terms amongst a host of proposals, many of the groups who initially protested against Mubarak boycotted the vote as they felt it did not go far enough. A vote on a new constitution is yet to take place and this is complicated by the elections to elect a new government.

Failing to deliver on their promises many have returned to Tahrir square with, culminating in July when one million people gathered in Tahrir Square calling for a greater role for Islam in the future of Egypt, with slogans for an Islamic State at the forefront

Those calling for elections first, believe the expected gains will wield greater influence over the writing of the new constitution, this would benefit the Muslim Brotherhood greatly. However many of the secular groups want a committee chosen by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to draft the constitution and then hold elections, giving them more time to prepare and gain more seats in the new parliament. This would protect US interests in ensuring no group gains a sizable share of seats in parliament and thus have a significant say in any future coalition parliament.

The secular parties who got most of the media attention when they occupied Tahrir square are now severely divided and unable to cobble together to form a unified front against the army. With the SCAF failing to deliver on their promises many have returned to Tahrir square with, culminating in July when one million people gathered in Tahrir Square calling for a greater role for Islam in the future of Egypt, with slogans for an Islamic State at the forefront.

It is now all too obvious that the Egyptian uprising has not produced regime change, but only a change in personnel.

Yemen

The US since the events of 9/11 has attempted to remove Ali Abdullah-Saleh from power, he has however been able remain in power due to the support he has received from Europe. As his forces massacred his own people Europe has backed Saleh to negotiate on a Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) deal which he constantly backed out of at the last moment. Europe continues to back the GCC deal which it knows Saleh has will never agree to. The US has attempted to persuade Saleh's deputy, Major General Hadi, who thus far has been reluctant to replace the Saleh's family in Yemen

The US has for long worked to oust Ali Abdullah-Saleh from Yemen. With the US intensifying pressure on Yemen after 9/11, Ali Abdullah-Saleh has attempted to appease the US by presenting someone satisfactory to the US to take over after him and by agreeing to a whole host of security guarantees that would allow the US to use Yemen as a military outpost just like Pakistan.

However Saleh has either detained or killed many of his political adversaries, therefore none of his adversaries remain capable of coming to power. With the economic situation dire and Iran mobilising, arming and funding the Houthi's in the North, Saleh turned to the Saudis who are apprehensive about Iranian involvement in the country. With the Arab spring in full swing many Muslims took to the streets to call for change, Saleh responded with brutal force.

As events reached an impasse starting in April, Saleh agreed to a Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) - brokered deal which included Saleh giving up the presidency and agreeing a transition deal only to back away hours before the scheduled signing three times. After the third time, the GCC suspended efforts. The Economist stated as far back as 2002: *"Two decades after the formation of the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC), all six members co-operate more closely with America on defence matters than with each other."* Soon after Sadiq al-Ahmar, the head of the Hashid tribe, one of the most powerful tribes in the country, declared support for the opposition and his armed supporters came into conflict with loyalist security forces in the capital Sana'a.

In June 2011 the situation in Yemen completely changed. Saleh was forced to leave the country

due to a near-successful assassination attempt. Whilst he survived and left for Saudi Arabia, the attack reportedly left Saleh with burns covering 40% of his body. An improvised explosive device (IED) was used in the presidential compound mosque when Saleh was present and not some sort of mortar round or a tank-guided missile as originally thought. In a tactical assessment of the attack Stratfor's Vice President of Tactical Intelligence Scott Stewart said: *"it was done by someone who knew Saleh's routine. It was done by someone who knew the compound. Another thing to remember is that there have been hostilities going on now for weeks between Saleh's supporters and his opponents and the protesters. Because of this, because of the exchange of fire that has happened and the hostilities, the guard at this presidential palace compound would have been up. This indicates to us that it is likely that this was an inside job."*²

This definitely benefitted the US, which makes it all the more possible it was orchestrated by them.

Obama's top foreign policy aide John Brennan quietly travelled to Saudi Arabia for secret talks with Saleh on the 10th July 2011 at a Saudi military hospital, where Saleh was recovering from his injuries. Brennan's talks centred around convincing Saleh to immediately step down and hand over control of the nation to his deputy, Major General Hadi. However all indications are that Saleh was no more open to the deal than he has been in the past. Brennan then visited Yemen on the 13th July 2011 in order to meet Maj. Gen. Hadi to press him to accept a swift transition deal. Hadi has previously been unwilling to accept a deal to oust Saleh. Brennan said the Obama Administration was willing to increase aid to Yemen, which is in a state of virtual collapse after months of protests and assorted civil wars, but only after the GCC proposal for a transition is "signed and implemented." It seems the US wants to replace Saleh with or Hadi.

After spending 16 weeks in a Saudi Hospital, Saleh was able to make a surprise comeback to Yemen in September 2011. The US has continued to push for a deal which removes Saleh from power, even when he was recovering in Riyadh, none of his cronies were prepared to sign the deal which was constructed by the GCC. Whilst the US continues to call for Saleh's removal via the GCC proposal Europe has called for Saleh to merely consider the deal. From this it would appear Europe is supporting Saleh, his family and his cronies by calling for Saleh to seriously consider the deal knowing that at the last moment he always finds an excuse to renege any deal. Yemen is fast becoming a battle ground between Europe and the US.

Syria

Syria is depicted as an international pariah state that supports Hizbullah and Palestinian militants. However, away from public scrutiny the US government views Syria as an important surrogate that is needed in the region., Syria has even safeguarded US interests which includes the arrest and torture of its own people. In Iraq, Syria played an active role in infiltrating the Islamists and passing on valuable intelligence to the US led coalition. The Syrian deterrent forces (SDF) ensured the protection of US interests with the Taif agreement in 1989 as it Syria became the real power in Lebanon as it controlled Lebanese security.

Like the wider Muslim world the Muslims of Syria took to the streets in order to remove Bashar al-Assad from power. Demonstrations initially started in the border town of Deraa. Several people were killed when security forces opened fire on unarmed crowds. The unrest in Deraa quickly spiralled out of control, and then spread to other towns and cities. President Bashar al-Assad sent in

tanks and troops to restore order, even blaming armed gangs and terrorists for the unrest. Towns such as Deraa, Homs and Douma were besieged for days. Hundreds were killed when snipers and tanks fired on unarmed protesters. Men were rounded up in night-time raids and electricity and communication lines were cut. Assad's security services continue systematically torturing, raping and killing people whom they believe are opposed to the regime.

Whilst the international community has called for Assad's removal, the US has delayed condemning Assad. Hillary Clinton has stopped calling him a reformer but has not demanded that he leave.

In June 2011 Bashar al-Assad announced the 'national dialogue' which would be a comprehensive process dealing with the different issues facing the Syrian people. The hope was that this would placate the opposition. All of this shows that Assad has no real plans of stepping down any time soon.

In the face of growing calls for Assad to step down the US has mostly called for reforms in Syria. US officials have even been meeting the opposition regarding this. A state department spokesman said: *"We are encouraging genuine dialogue between the opposition and the regime but we are not promoting anything. We want to see a democratic Syria but this is in the hands of the Syrian people."* The US state department was forced to defend Senator Robert Ford from the Republicans who was carrying out a fact finding mission in Syria in July 2011. The state department confirmed that Ford met a "broad cross-section of the opposition" and "occasionally...with members of the government" as appropriate and urged the opposition figures to hold talks with the Syrian regime.

The US has pushed the Syrian opposition to maintain dialogue with Bashar al-Assad's regime and details have emerged of a "roadmap" for reforms that would leave Assad in power despite demands for his overthrow.³ Syrian opposition sources have stated US state department officials have been encouraging discussion of the unpublished draft document. The road map calls for Assad to oversee "a secure and peaceful transition to civil democracy". It calls for tighter control over the security forces, the disbanding of "shabiha" gangs accused of atrocities, the legal right to peaceful demonstrations, extensive media freedoms, and the appointment of a transitional assembly, all the while Assad remains in power.

Hilary Clinton explained the American stance in an interview with Lucia Annunziata of Italy's 'In Mezz'Ora,' in May 2011 *"the difference between the situations in Syria and Libya is that the Syrian government might still come around and pursue a reform agenda,"*⁴ Clinton was asked whether the US was applying a double standard when dealing with Libyan leader Col. Muammar al-Gaddafi and other Arab dictators who are killing their citizens, such as Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Clinton explained that she still held out hope that the Syrian government would institute reforms that could satisfy the demands of

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protesters and end the government-sponsored violence against civilians. There was no hope for that outcome in Libya, she said. *"There are deep concerns about what is going on inside Syria, and we are pushing hard for the government of Syria to live up to its own stated commitment to reforms,"* she said. *"What I do know is that they have an opportunity still to bring about a reform agenda. Nobody believed Qaddafi would do that. People do believe there is a possible path forward with Syria. So we're going to continue joining with all of our allies to keep pressing very hard on that."* Clinton argued that the United States and its international partners have acted aggressively in the case of Syria, but admitted that acting against the Assad regime is more complicated, in many ways, than organizing action against the Libya regime.

However after months of the US backing the regime through only calling for reforms, giving ample time for the Assad regime to end (kill) the revolution, Assad has failed in subduing the Ummah and it appears the US is started the process of his eventual demise. This is clear from the fact that the opposition has begun openly seeking international intervention, during a meeting in Antalya, Turkey, in June 2011 Syria's opposition came together and requested the West to aid Syria as it did in Libya.⁵ The US has also called for the opposition to unify so that a new ruling council can be formed, with whom the US can deal, with, just as what happened in Libya with the National Transitional Council. Mark Toner, the US State Department's deputy spokesman, told CNN that *"a real opposition to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad was beginning to form after five months of pro-democracy protests. We have seen the Syrian opposition begin to take shape, begin to stand up and become more cohesive and become more broadly representative... of Syrian society."* Toner said President Barack Obama's administration would like to remain in touch with the Syrian opposition as it grows.⁶

Libya

Libya has always been very close to Britain. It was Britain that undermined King Idris, which paved the way for Gaddafi's coup. It was Tony Blair who thwarted America's bid to oust Gaddafi and worked diligently to rescue Gaddafi's government from clutches of American neoconservatives who after September 11 wanted regime change in Libya.

Only a few months ago Gaddafi and his family were portrayed by the West as reformed modernizers with a gleam of democratic credentials. Indeed, in Britain Gaddafi and his family mixed with the aristocracy. It was former Prime Minister Tony Blair who helped engineer Libya's rehabilitation in the so-called community of nations. As part of this clandestine assistance, Blair exercised great freedom over the Libyan Investment Authority, which at the last count had \$70 billion of plundered money belonging to the Libyan people. Yet none of these intertwined commercial interests between Britain and their protégé Gaddafi prevented the former from turning against their surrogate for the last forty-one years. Sensing the cataclysmic nature of the protests across Libya, the UK was quick to abandon Gaddafi and expunge any vestiges of cooperation between the two countries. UK foreign secretary William Hague scurried to announce false rumours of Gaddafi's exit to Venezuela and that the UK was looking to a post-Gaddafi era. Nonetheless, the enigmatic Gaddafi whom the British nurtured and protected dug in his heels and decided to fight. Outraged by Gaddafi's defiance the British mobilised Western countries and the UN to use force to remove him from power - the unofficial goal of military intervention.

In mobilising against Gaddafi the US, France and Britain have had many differences over the operational aspects of the invasion in achieving their goal of regime change. Prior to intervention the French and the British wanted the US to carry the main burden of intervention as Europe is going through a period of austerity and is making large cuts in defence budgets. Whilst the US led the initial air sorties, this was transferred over to NATO, which required both France and Britain to contribute more towards the intervention. France, Britain and the US, who are all leading the military intervention were very quickly confronted with the reality that the forces they deployed to Libya were incompatible with the political goals they wanted to achieve.

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Months of fighting between loyalist forces and the rebels resulted in a lengthy stalemate, even with the aid of NATO airstrikes. However the speed with which the rebels entered Tripoli in Ramadan took everyone by surprise. A few months is not enough time for a sudden improvement in capabilities and doesn't account for the rapid advance. Disinformation however has been central to the Libyan conflict by the West. Stratfor outlined this in its analysis: *"Profiles of emerging rebel leaders appeared in the Western press, portraying them as liberal and benign and thus, fit to govern. The news coverage posited that these rebels were immune from ICC prosecution, despite their previous careers as leading members of the Gadhafi regime. What was more difficult to hide was the ragtag nature of the rebel forces. For that, leading NATO participants in the war decided to insert special operations forces to arm and train the rebels. These special operation forces propelled the Tripoli-bound offensive forward by eliminating key targets of Gadhafi resistance (while allowing the rebels to take credit). Key to this operation was NATO's ability to create the perception throughout Libya, and especially within Tripoli, that Gadhafi was backed into a corner and the war was effectively over."*⁷

The Daily Telegraph exposed on the 22 August 2011 the role Britain's special operation forces and MI6 operatives played in the rapid offensive to Tripoli. MI6 officers based in the rebel stronghold of Benghazi had honed battle plans drawn up by Libya's Transitional National Council (TNC)

The Libyan uprising consists of a number of tribes and individuals, some from within the Libyan government who defected, some from the army and many other elements who were long term opponents of the Gaddafi regime. Whilst the revolutions took place in Tunisia and Egypt, eastern Libya known in the pre-independence era as Cyrenaica, and traditionally the heartland of the anti-Gaddafi movement united with other tribes in their opposition to Gaddafi.

By mid February the popular uprising had spread to Tripoli and by the end of February 2011, much of Libya had slipped out of Gaddafi's control. Eastern Libya, centered around the vital port city of Benghazi, firmly under the control of the opposition become the headquarters of the opposition forces. The Muslims of Libya bravely fought forces loyal to Gaddafi in Benghazi and were able to expel those who did not defect.

It is from this the National Transitional Council (NTC) was established on 27 February 2011 in an effort to consolidate efforts for change in Libya. France and Britain on one side and the US on the other had been working to make contact with the rebels and have competed on this matter to ensure their supporters are in power once Gaddafi falls. However this competition between Europe led by Britain and America has taken place without it spiralling out of control.

The National Transitional Council is composed of various tribes, groups and individuals who were all united on one matter and on one matter only – Gaddafi had to be removed. After this there was little that united the different groups who were all vying for power. These fault lines have all the possibility of becoming deeper as the weeks go by. These rebels have in essence fought independently on different fronts during the war with varying degrees of success. The different roles these groups have played and, more important, their perceptions of those roles will likely create friction when it comes time to allocate the spoils of the Libyan war. Similar examples such as Afghanistan and Somalia where fractured alliances led to the overthrow of the existing regime which however fell apart afterwards led to the internal fault lines being seized by outside powers, who then worked to manipulate one of the factions in order to gain influence in the country.

Once Gaddafi is fully removed, the dependency on West to remove him means countries such as France, Britain and the US will have a say in who will run Libya. The differences between Europe and America is in who runs the country not the fact that should they have a say. Comments by both London and Paris since the fall of Tripoli of peacekeeping forces remaining after the fall of Libya is an ominous sign that Western interference is here to stay.

Libya, like North Africa and the Middle East forms part of Europe's attempts to reduce energy dependency from Russian energy. In a European Union report: 'The European Union's Energy Security Challenges,' it highlighted: *"EU efforts to diversify European energy supplies and decrease dependence on Russia have heightened calls within Europe for stronger political and economic engagement in the Middle East and North Africa.... The potential for growth in Europe's energy diversification strategy with respect to the Middle East and North Africa is significant. Nevertheless, as with the Caspian region, if the EU is serious about lowering its dependency on any one source, it must turn more and more to the Middle East and North Africa."*

The US has viewed the instability in Libya as an opportunity to gain influence in the country. It made use of Europe's inability to go it alone in removing Gaddafi to steal Libya from Europe and Britain. However the US has played a weak hand in Libya due to having little influence in Libya as it has traditionally been territory where Britain had influence. Ever since, the US has worked to undermine European efforts to bring a swift conclusion to the war.

GOP senators have constantly criticized Obama's handling of the Libyan uprising: *"Americans can be proud of the role our country has played ... but we regret that this success was so long in coming due to the failure of the United States to employ the full weight of our airpower."*⁸ A senior European official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to the Washington Post to avoid antagonizing the Americans, said that Obama's eagerness to turn over command of the Libyan air operation to NATO in late February and the withdrawal of US fighter planes from ground-strike missions, had undermined the strength of their united front against Gaddafi.⁹

Tunisia

Zine al Abidine Ben Ali may have been deposed but the architecture he established still remains in place.

Following Ben Ali's departure, a state of emergency was declared and a caretaker government was created, which was largely filled by former members of Ben Ali's party. As a result of continued daily protests, Prime Minister Mohamed Ghannouchi reshuffled the government, removing all former Ben Ali loyalists other than himself. Ben Ali's party was also suspended and then dissolved. Following further public protests, Ghannouchi himself resigned in February 2011, and Beji Caid el Sebsi became Prime Minister.

Elections were scheduled for July 2011, but these have been delayed to October due to apparent technical reasons. Prime Minister Beji Caid Sebsi said: *"All things considered, we decided to hold the elections on October 23. The most important thing is the transparency of the elections. There are parties who disagreed with this ... but our mission is to hold elections that are free and transparent. We must protect the good name of the revolution."*¹⁰

All this means that the ruling architecture in Tunisia which has always been very close to Europe is not convinced that an election held now would give it the results it wants, therefore it has delayed them in order to cultivate the right environment to ensure those loyal to it can emerge from any election.

In analyzing the Arab spring the following can be concluded:

- For the moment there has been no regime change in the Muslim world but changes in leadership. Libya is the only exception to this. In Tunisia and Egypt the regimes of Ben Ali and Mubarak remain in place, even though the leaders themselves are now out of power.
- An intense struggle continues to take place between the US and Britain to take advantage of the instability on the one hand, whilst in the other hand to protect their own agents who have served them well for so long. The Anglo-American struggle has been most intense in Libya and Yemen.
- Whilst the US and Britain are competing with each other they are unified on hijacking the sincere intentions of the Ummah for change through labelling the Arab spring as a call for democracy and more Western values. The West through its media attempted to drown out any calls for Islam. In Libya the Benghazi rebels were calling for Islam to be the central theme in Libya after the removal of Gaddafi, this has however now been diluted, as many individuals who defected from Gaddafi's regime joined the Benghazi rebels and have called for Western intervention in the country.
- The likelihood of Islamic groups and Islam returning to the region is causing many upcoming and promised reforms and elections to be delayed as Islamic groups would gain significantly in any elections.

The Dilemmas of Governance

One of the central calls in the revolutions in the Muslim lands has been the call for accountability, justice and elections. The Muslim lands have since the day the Khilafah and Islam were removed from them been given the mantra that democracy would bring a new dawn and a new era. This has not been the case and today the West again is arguing more liberal democracy, not less is what the Muslim world needs.

The system of liberal democracy that developed in Western Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries – usually called the enlightenment, has its origins in an experiment in Athens, Greece over two thousand years ago, Whilst the West continues to argue that its system of governance based upon the protection of liberal values is universal, in reality it is a Western European construct, specific to them and indigenous to them

Western liberal democracy has monopolised global governance since its inception. Since the demise of Communism in 1990 Western intellectuals, politicians and policy makers consider the imposition of democratic ideals on global issues to be the case by default. Democracy is the solution to all ills, democracy itself is progress and modernity and everything else is dictatorship and outdated.

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The Enlightenment for the West is the equivalent of the revelation of the Qur'an for the Muslims. It was the period in which an intense struggle took place between the Christian Church and European thinkers and philosophers who wanted the removal of the Church as an authority. It was also a period in which a number of scientific discoveries were made that directly challenged the fundamental teachings of the Church.

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The intellectual revolution that took place in Europe eventually led to the complete separation of the Church from the State. Due to the efforts of the philosophers, writers and intellectuals, this struggle comprehensively transformed European thought. Many movements were established that played a great part in the emergence of new opinions about life. Some of the most significant events that occurred were the change of the political and legislative systems of nation states. The spectre of the despot monarchy gradually disappeared to be replaced by republican systems based on representative rule and national sovereignty. This had the effect of triggering the awakening of Europe from its slumber and marked the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

European philosophers made self-interest the primary motivation in life. After living under the arbitrary authority of the Church for centuries, man was finally free to live as he pleased. Naturally once freedom was attained, what else could act as a motivator except for benefit and self-interest (famously codified as 'Utilitarian Theory' by Jeremy Bentham).

The thinkers who called for freedom argued that human beings should be free to pursue their own happiness without facing any form of coercion or undue influence. Historically, in the context of Europe, widespread coercion usually stemmed from a religious authority or a government. As political freedom meant people being free, particularly from religious and government influence, to maximise their personal benefit, it was only natural for a believer in freedom to seek to establish Secularism as the only form of legislation. Political freedom in Secular societies is therefore the right to legislate to maximise individual freedoms. In this case, the question of the existence of a Creator inevitably becomes irrelevant when it comes to politics and legislation.

The US Declaration of Independence of 1776 first established freedom (liberty) as its basis:

“We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness”

(The Declaration of Independence, 1776)

The Declaration then continues to elaborate on the principles of a secular government:

“That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness”.

(ibid.)

Thus, a government exists to secure the rights of the people. Its purpose is to facilitate their attempts to increase personal benefit (utility). In short, justice according to Western liberal ideals is the protection of the individual freedoms of speech, belief, expression and ownership.

Democracy

Democracy means different things to different people, Western secular societies do not have a monopoly on claiming democracy as their own. Many communist countries during the Cold War era described themselves as democratic republics; and even Saddam Hussein’s Iraq had Presidential elections. But those for whom free and fair elections are the key characteristic of a democracy would not give democratic legitimacy to those held in communist states or in dictatorships, where only one party exists.

Others view democracy as more than just elections - that democracies should be characterised by other values and institutions. That alongside regular elections there must be liberal values, a functioning legislative chamber, a vibrant opposition, a free media, civil society and an independent judiciary. However whatever the minute differences, all those who believe in democracy take the political system that institutionalises legislative sovereignty - in either the people directly - or in

their elected representatives to be the basis – i.e. the ability to choose and enact legislation is the key characteristic of democracy.

There are four fundamental flaws with this system of governance, which makes it unsuitable for the Muslim lands. As these issues are with the fundamentals of the ideology, no amount of reform can fix them.

1. Regular elections favour the elites

Whilst all would agree that their leaders should be elected, the reality of democracy is that regular elections favour those with money and adversely impact tough long-term decision making. Politics becomes about serving the elite not the public. The problem with frequent elections is that the more elections there are the more there is a requirement for money. Money and politics is one of the major cancers in democratic politics. The frequency of elections biases politicians against tackling long-term challenges and instead incentivises them to focus on short-term popularity. While a country's planning horizon should be measured in decades, political horizons are focussed on managing the 24-hour news cycle and how to win the next election.

For instance an elected member of the February 2010 US House of Representatives, from day one, has to plan to raise a million dollars or so for his/her re-election campaign in two years time. Therefore you spend an inordinate amount of your time raising money, getting close to donors, and getting people who you may not like to write cheques. In addition you try to avoid any tough votes since in all likelihood the benefits will only be seen years down the road and why risk antagonising people who could vote you out in two years time. Running up deficits, not tackling longer-term challenges in education, the environment, pensions, energy or inner city poverty is the norm. All of these issues require tough choices and statesmen like solutions, but taking such decisions is akin to writing an electoral suicide note.

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What the supporters of democracy confuse is the frequency of elections with effective governance. Whilst elections are a check on rulers who otherwise would become corrupt, there are many examples of leaders in politics, sports and business who have led for long periods without exhibiting any of these characteristics. For instance an alternative to both democracy on the one hand and dictatorship or absolute monarchy on the other hand is an election of a ruler with no term expiry as exists within the Islamic political system. This allows people on the one hand to freely choose their leader but on the other hand allows that leader the time to take tough long-term decisions for the benefit of the people.

In essence the more elections you have the more likely you are to poison your system with money and short term thinking. This is what we see in the West today, countries dominated by powerful interests, riddled by political corruption and with soaring deficits and other long-term problems left

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completely un-tackled. What this eventually leads to is politicians failing in their fundamental duty, which is to serve the public. In essence politicians become obsessed with their futures not the country's future. They are focused on their interest not the people's interests.

India, considered by many to be the largest secular democracy in the world, is also considered to be the most corrupt. Politicians at both federal and state level have been milking the country dry since partition in 1947. Israel is touted as the only democracy in the Middle East. Yet what does it say about its government when a former President is being tried for rape and an ex-Prime Minister investigated for corruption? The developing democracies don't fare better. Elections in Kenya, Afghanistan and Pakistan have all yielded a corrupt elite and Russia's conversion to democracy has produced an oligarchy more interested in making money than serving the public. In essence democracies in country after country favour the elite while continuing the propaganda that everyone has the same power within a democracy.

The expenses scandal in Britain, with its Westminster parliament considered the cradle of democracy faces a crisis of massive proportions. However, people disagree about how to solve this crisis and many of the other cases of corruption and corporate interests in legislation. Many believe that the West can clean up the system by introducing reforms. However this solution stems from a misdiagnosis of the problem. The system is not corrupt because there are corrupt politicians; rather politicians become corrupt because the underlying system is corrupt and flawed. If it was a case of a few rotten apples in one country or the politics of a particular democracy were worse than all the others, one might make a case for reform. But fundamental problems exist in every secular democracy, advanced, emerging, large, small, western or eastern. They all show the same thing: they serve the elite and not the public; their politicians are largely corrupt; wealth remains confined to a tiny minority; and long term challenges are consistently ducked.

It is this system the West wants the Muslim world to adopt

2. Laws can always be Changed and Suspended

Legislative sovereignty is at the very heart of Western civilisation, the ability to create ones own laws, change them, adapt them and suspend them is held high as one of the bedrocks of liberal democracies. This is why we find after the events of 9/11 Western Europe has suspended some key principles and rights. We have seen the suspension of the presumption of innocence, the right to a fair trial and the right to be aware of the evidence that is being used to imprison you. These key rights, enshrined in Western maxims and used to extract other laws have been altered at will, even though they are supposed to be the bedrock of Western political tradition.

Many in the West argue that in the interests of national security certain laws can be suspended and are necessary. The rationale of protecting the nation's security is the perennial argument used by dictators and tyrants through the ages and is used constantly by regimes from North Korea to Zimbabwe to defend their draconian policies. However these regimes don't pretend to be something that they are not and nor do they seek to promote their values abroad. It is the active promotion of

secular democracy abroad while simultaneously abandoning it at home that is the brazen hypocrisy. In rolling back democracy at home, the West has lost its moral leadership to preach to countries abroad, seriously undermining the pro-democracy activists abroad it claims to support.

In the West the governments have become police states when it comes to Muslims. Many European governments have concocted lies (subverted) all those who oppose 'Liberal values' as dangerous, extremist, radical, fundamentalist, a potential terrorist and a national security threat. As a result it is seen as perfectly legitimate for the state police to monitor Muslims by bugging their phones, monitoring their histories, tracking their movements abroad and arresting them with mere suspicion even though they have not actually committed a crime, but just hold certain views which are different to those held in wider society.

With secularism at the heart of Western legislation, laws can be changed and even suspended at a whim.

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3. Individual Freedoms create perpetual conflicts and permissive societies

The protection of individual freedoms is a bedrock of Western Civilisation. However, the dilemma secular legislators face is what is beneficial to one person is not necessarily beneficial to another. People's interests overlap and as a result there exists a constant renegotiation of space, entitlement and privilege. More often than not, the underlying criterion for an action is self-gratification and fulfilment – 'what's in it for me'? A society where an individualistic outlook is common can only decline into a virtual free-for-all, as everyone, including the government, would attempt to take full advantage of life. Freedom therefore leads to people seeking their own benefit and more often than not, those with political and/or financial clout have the upper hand. This produces a host of problems, not least the conflict of peoples' freedoms.

- Is abortion murder or a women's right? In this case the conflict of freedom is between the mother and her child.
- Should cannabis be legalised/decriminalised? In this case the conflict of freedom is societal.
- Is education a right or a privilege? Should students be asked to pay fees for University education? In this case the conflict of freedom is national.
- Should one nation invade another nation if it would guarantee oil reserves, a clear strategic advantage and multiple billion-dollar contracts for its industry? Should a dictator be sold arms if it will help boost domestic trade? In these cases the conflict of freedom is international.

- Is it acceptable for countries that aim to produce anti-retroviral drugs to combat HIV/Aids to be threatened with international sanctions if it harms the profits of conglomerates and multinationals? In this case the conflict of freedom is between corporate interests and millions of lives.
- Can there be any excuse for a country to ignore desperate warnings about global warming just because of the potential unpopularity, loss of jobs and economic downturn if significant action was to take place? In this case the conflict of freedom is global.

Despite the existence of all these conflicts, the preservation of individual freedoms is the basis of Western legislation. Courts in the West are entrusted with preserving the rights of those who believe they have been wronged; the judiciary is entrusted with the responsibility of introducing bills which liberalise society - i.e. all the laws and new issues that contradict liberty are brought into line with the West's liberal viewpoint. Based upon this drive to liberalise the following laws have been introduced:

- Throughout the 1960's pornography in various forms was legalised based on the principal that consenting adults have the right to express themselves. Whilst the legal status of pornography varies from country to country, most countries allow at least some form of pornography. Salman Rushdie has even argued that a free and civilised society should be judged by its willingness to accept pornography.¹¹
- Throughout the last 40 years the western world has legalised homosexuality due to the existence of consent and the state not interfering with the private lives of individuals, i.e. individual freedom of actions are matters of private morality. The sexual revolution in the 1960's was the period when many Christian laws inherited from the Church faced an intense attack from liberals who viewed them as being totally at odds with the needs of a post war Europe. Liberals argued that anti-homosexuality laws were an infringement on the rights of individuals who chose to partake in such acts. Holland was the first nation to allow homosexual relationships and today a number of nations in Europe permit same sex marriages and their right to adopt children.
- Prostitution under various guises is legalised in the Western liberal world. Many nations consider prostitution to be a legitimate business, where prostitution and the employment of prostitutes are legal, but regulated, as is the case in the Netherlands and Germany. A number of other liberal nations consider prostitution to be like any labour. Such legalisation was based on the right of expression by individual prostitutes and for the state to not interfere in the private lives of its citizens.

The West's struggle with the Church in the medieval ages is what led to freedom to be institutionalised and over the years many laws have been removed from Europe's Christian heritage to bring them in line with freedom. Freedom is fundamentally about removing all restrictions and allowing the public to determine the laws they wish to live by, this drive has led to the permissive situation prevalent in the West today.

It is exactly these type of values that would lead to the degradation of the Muslim world if they were to adopt Western secular liberal democracy as the basis for politics and state.

4. Majority decisions do not necessarily make good laws

One of the fundamental pillars of democracy is that legislation is arrived at through majority voting. In the absence of any divine text, the need to derive legislation must be sourced from elsewhere. However the source of legislation and how laws are passed are subject to rigorous debates. In essence a variety of models could potentially exist. Democracy is about subjecting everything to human scrutiny and passing laws by numerical majorities. The problem is just because 51% of people vote for something or a simple majority of politicians vote for something doesn't make it right. Nor does having a supermajority guarantee better results. If a supermajority decided to legalise heroin use or prohibit contraception or ban Muslim women from wearing the hijab, this would be entirely democratic. The idea of numerical majorities legislating what is fundamentally allowed and what is prohibited is therefore dangerous.

The ability to change laws can produce very toxic laws. To ensure such a reality never occurs laws are restricted by constitutional concerns. No laws for instance can be passed in contravention of a nation's constitution without some kind of super majority. For instance in the United States a simple majority of both houses of Congress could not reintroduce slavery, even though this would be democratic, this would require a change to the constitution. To prevent democracies from committing such abuses, various anti-democratic checks such as supermajorities and an unelected Supreme Court are put in place, an explicit acknowledgement that pure democracy can produce toxic results. Having a Supreme Court provides a failsafe option, as the abortion debate in the US has proved. Having a number of judges decide what is right or wrong is in effect anti democratic and invalidates the whole principle of having legislation underpinned by popular consent. Judges should interpret laws and hold people to account not play the role of backstop legislators.

Elected representatives are by definition not bound by their electors. In essence therefore the voter's role in democracies is confined to regular voting as well as lobbying on individual pieces of legislation. Though individuals are free to lobby, their lobbying effort is vastly outnumbered by more wealthier and powerful concerns. In the last decade the financial sector according to the Centre for Responsive Politics spent nearly \$4 billion dollars in lobbying congress. Ordinary members of the public have to make do with an email or a phone call and are therefore largely ignored.

Trials are judged based on the quality of evidence not on the numerical superiority of witnesses on any particular side. If people, as they did in the 1930's, vote for a populist leader who would later kill millions of Jews and start a world war, does this validate their choice just because they constituted a majority at a point in time? No it doesn't. Scientific progress is not decided on numerical majorities but the strength of the science. The fact that the majority of people once believed the sun went around the earth or believed that the world was flat does not mean much when it comes to deciding what is scientific fact. Why should important legislation therefore be any different?

The toxic nature of how laws are passed in democracies was well understood by Western philosophers, leaders, and influential voices over the ages. Socrates and Plato raged against democracy in ancient Greece. Jefferson and Adams understood the dangers of pure democracy, which is why the US is a republic and why pure democracy was opposed.

Islamic Governance

Secularism the complete separation between God and governance has become established as the Aqeedah of Capitalism, legislative sovereignty of man over god is central to democracy however one defines it. Islam is on the diametrically opposite side to democracy, Islam makes the Islamic texts sovereign – the supreme reference, mankind plays no role in legislating, only implementing. Islamic governance does not proceed upon the same route as Western legislation, where safeguarding individual freedoms is considered the basis of legislation. Islamic governance does not make freedom the subject of discussion; it does not recognise or reject freedom. Hence, Islamic governance does not look at humans from the angle of them undertaking or not undertaking actions on the basis of freedom.

Whilst Islamic governance has many details and has been written about throughout Islamic history, the following are its key aspects, which are relevant to the Arab Spring and what the remainder of this chapter will focus on, these are:

1. Justice is achieved with an independent judiciary and fixed laws, so all citizens know where they stand
2. Islam has built in and established rigorous measures of accountability
3. Corruption is rooted out through completely separating money and politics
4. Societal cohesion is maintained through the implementation of Islam rather than the secret security services

1. Justice is achieved with an independent judiciary and fixed laws, so all citizens know where they stand

The current situation prevalent in the Muslim world where ruling families decide the laws that society must abide by whilst they remain above the very laws they have created, this is just the other side of the democratic coin. A direct consequence of people making the laws. Whether laws are developed collectively, through consensus or by a monarch it is inevitable that a tiny segment of society will legislate for themselves.

In Islam Allah (swt) is sovereign as explained in the Qur'an:

إِنَّ الْحُكْمَ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ

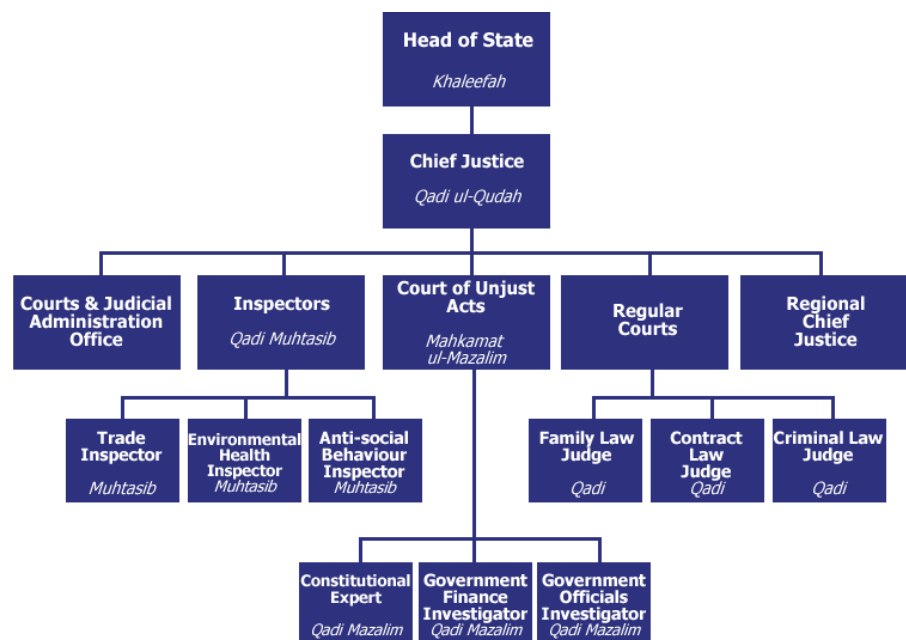
“The rule is for none but Allah” (An-Anam:56)

This means all laws need to be derived from the Islamic sources which are the Qur'an, Sunnah, Ijma Sahabah and Qiyas. Whilst all laws, maxims and principles are contained within these texts

thier application is where mankind must use its own capacities to ensure the right rule is applied for the reality it came for. To ensure this happens Islam has recommended a constitution for the Islamic lands, where the role of the ruler and positions of power are clearly defined and mandated a constitution where the relationship between the ruled and ruler are clearly delineated. All this ensures that society is aware of the laws it will be judged by, which cannot be changed at a whim, this will ensure a multiple tier society does not develop, where different laws apply to different segments of society. It also ensures the elites cannot influence the laws.

Islam has enshrined both institutional and decisional independence for the judiciary which far exceeds what is seen in Western democracies. Islam institutionalises an independent high court called the Court of Unjust Acts (*mahkamat mazalim*). It is presided over by the most eminent and qualified judges (*qadi muzalim*) and granted extensive powers by the *Shari'ah*. It has the power to remove any official of state regardless of their role or rank, including, most importantly, the Khaleefah if he persists in pursuing a path that lies outside of the terms of his Bay'ah (contract of ruling).

The head of the judiciary is appointed by but independent to the head of state. The Mahkamut al Madhalim is a dedicated office of the judiciary charged with checking the state's compliance with the law. The Madhalim does not rely on a plaintiff raising a specific complaint against the state and is charged with ongoing monitoring of all organs of state. The Madhalim has the power to remove the



head of state if he is found guilty of violating the law or is personally unable to continue with his role, e.g. is incapacitated. The office is charged with following due process in each situation, which comprises the collection and analysis of evidence, and may include a sitting head of state providing evidence during the course of a trial. The Madhalim will have access to information from the state relating to any specific case, and can request information on behalf of any citizen.

Ordinary citizens who have a complaint against the state can register it with the Court. What is unique about the Court of Unjust Acts, compared to other judicial courts, is that the Government Investigations Judge (*Qadi Muzalim*) has investigatory powers and does not require a plaintiff to register a complaint before launching an investigation. This court will therefore constantly monitor the actions of all officials of the state and the legislation adopted to ensure it conforms to the *Shari'ah* and no oppression (*mazlama*) is committed against the people. The executive

counterbalance to the power of this Court is by the Khaleefah in principle having the power to appoint and remove the Chief Justice and any judges below him.

The laws an Islamic independent judiciary work to enforce are derived from the Islamic sources this restricts what can be enforced as law. Because Islam's fundamental source – the Qur'an is revelatory, what is right and wrong is defined and thus the ruler nor the judiciary can deviate from this. With the introduction of a constitution, which allows more detailed rules from the Islamic sources society will clearly know where it stands with regards to those acts which entail punishments and fines if violated.

All of this represents a much stronger system of governance compared to the constantly changing lawmaking in Western democracies, which favours those with money.

2. Islam has established rigorous measures of accountability

The US constitution is considered a model template, which empowers the President with many powers but then restricts them through various mechanisms as power corrupts. Accountability in Islam is guaranteed through the institutions of government, in the obligation to establish political parties and through an individual obligation on all the citizens to enjoin the good and forbid the evil. There are also a host of various mechanism rooted in Islam which act as checks and balances and restrict and regulate the ruler.

- The Khaleefah is given wide mandatory powers in Islam, this is different to what is the norm in democracies where power is shared with a cabinet or parliament. Whilst the West institutionalised this in an attempt to curtail the possibilities of a dictatorship in reality it have given rise to mob rule where the collative act in concert like any individual dictator.
- Islam has mandated that Authority belongs to the Ummah. The Khaleefah is not a King or dictator who imposes his authority on the people through coercion or force. The Khaleefah's authority to rule must be given willingly by the Muslims through the Islamic ruling contract known as Bay'ah. Without this Bay'ah the Khaleefah cannot rule. After this his authority is restricted to the hukm shari i.e. he cannot change what the Islamic texts have defined as right and wrong.
- Islam has institutionalised the Bay'ah contract as the method to appoint a ruler. This was outlined in many Ahadith, amongst them: Muslim narrated on the authority of Abi Hazim who said: *"I accompanied Abu Hurayra five years and I heard him talk about the Prophet (saw) saying: 'Banu Israel used to be governed by Prophets, every time a Prophet died, another came after him, and there is not Prophet after me. There will be Khulafa'a and they will number many'.* They said: *'What would you order us to do?'* He (saw) said: *'Fulfil the Bay'ah to them one after the other, and give them their due right, surely Allah will account them for that which He entrusted them with.'* (Sahih Muslim). The Bay'ah is between two parties - the Khaleefah and the Muslims. It is the people who elect the ruler, through popular will.
- The principle conditions of the Bay'ah are that the Khaleefah fulfils seven mandatory conditions of his post and to implement the Shari'ah upon the citizens of the state. The

seven mandatory conditions of the Khaleefah if violated, warrant his removal, these are, he must be:

1. Muslim
2. Male
3. Mature
4. Sane
5. Just (*'adl*)
6. Free
7. Competent

- The Bay'ah is a contract and as such it is allowed to add extra conditions to this contract that the Khaleefah must abide by, as long as these extra conditions do not violate the fundamentals of the contract. It would be allowed to restrict the Khaleefah to certain constitutional processes such as the empowerment of the Majlis ul-Ummah (peoples council) and the judiciary as counterbalances to the executive power of the Khaleefah.
- Without the restriction on the term of office, the Khaleefah can focus on long term strategic planning for the state instead of short-term planning from one election to the next as we find in democratic systems. It also prevents corporate interests from hijacking the government agenda through campaign contributions that any Presidential candidate or party in the west must secure to achieve power.
- The ruler possesses many executive powers such as appointing governors and mayors, developing the states foreign policy and accepting foreign ambassadors. He is however restricted to these and cannot go beyond this remit. The ruler's role is restricted to the public sphere and so Islam would forbid him from interfering in the private lives of his citizens. So whilst the Khaleefah holds all executive powers within the Khilafah his powers are restricted by the Shari'ah.
- The powers of the Khaleefah are further restricted in Islam by the establishment of the Majlis al-Ummah. This is an elected council whose members can be Muslim, non-Muslim, men or women. These members represent the interests of their constituencies within the state. The majlis has no powers of legislation like in a democratic system but it does have many powers that act as a counterbalance to the executive powers of the Khaleefah. These include expressing dissatisfaction with the assistants, governors, and mayors and in this matter the view of the Majlis is binding and the Khaleefah must discharge them at once. It also includes selecting the list of candidates standing for the position of the Khaleefah, no candidate excluded from this list may stand and the decision of the Majlis is binding. The Majlis also decides how much the ruler is paid and the allowances he may get.
- In modern times the most appropriate style of conducting the Bay'ah is through a general election, where all mature Muslims, male and female have a right to vote for the Khaleefah of their choice. The Muslim representatives of the Majlis ul-Ummah will shortlist the

candidates for the Khaleefah and the people then vote for one of the candidates of their choice.

- Islam has ordered the establishment of political parties. Political parties in the Khilafah are established primarily to account the Khaleefah and his government. Their task is to safeguard the thoughts of Islam in society and to ensure the government does not deviate from the implementation and propagation of Islam. The right of the Khilafah's citizens to establish political parties is established from the Holy Qur'an. No permission is required from the government to establish political parties. Although members of the government will in many cases be members of political parties the Khilafah does not have a party system of ruling as found in western democracies.
- In addition to the institutionalised mechanisms of accountability discussed so far, accounting the Khilafah is a right of all citizens of the state whether Muslim or non-Muslim. Although their representatives in the Majlis ul-Ummah will undertake this task on their behalf they still have a right to perform this task themselves. Political apathy is a growing problem in the west. General elections are seeing fewer people voting especially amongst the young. Growing individualism among society is leading people to ignore the problems facing their communities and wider society and be concerned only with themselves. Islam not only obliged political parties with the task of enjoining *Ma'aruf* and forbidding *Munkar* but also individuals.

3. Corruption is rooted out through completely separating money and politics

A central argument of liberals is that after restricting religion to the private lives of individuals, the West has seen unparalleled progress. Secularism has been central to the period of enlightenment and the post-modern world we currently live in. However there is a consistent pattern across all democracies of corruption. The US may be the preeminent democracy in the world but it is also one of the most corrupt. US politics is riddled with special interests, a revolving door between politics and big business, political favours and backhanders. Though on the surface elections occur every two years, the reality is that incumbents rarely lose. In 2008, 94% of incumbents won in the House of Representatives and 83% in the Senate. This isn't by accident, due to the significant money advantage enjoyed by incumbents and the continued redistricting. Despite the global recession special interests paid Washington Lobbyists \$3.2 billion in 2008 or \$17m every day Congress was in session. The 2010 congressional elections are estimated to have cost a staggering \$3.5 billion. The expenses scandal that

1. The Khaleefah is not an employee who gets paid a wage, since he is not hired by the Ummah. The Caliph is given a pledge of allegiance (bay'ah) by the Ummah to implement the Sharia and convey the Islamic Da'wah to the world. An allowance is assigned to him from the bait ul-mal to meet his needs. This also applies to any of the ruling positions within the Khilafah such as the govners and delegated assistants.

2. Ruling is an act of ibadat (worship) performed purely for the pleasure of Allah. Therefore the office of Caliph should not be viewed as a means of becoming rich and amassing huge wealth as we find the Muslim rulers doing today. The Khaleefah will be paid an allowance that covers his expenses to a level that he can function comfortably in office and meet his needs.

3. The Majlis ul-Ummah (Council of the Ummah) will decide through shura (consultation) how much the Khaleef's allowance should be.

came to light in the UK highlighted the lethal cocktail political and money creates.

Democracies should have secularised money and politics and not religion and politics. In Islam the ruler is not an employee who gets paid a wage, since he is not hired by the Ummah. The Caliph is given a pledge of allegiance (bay'ah) by the Ummah to implement the Shari'ah and convey the Islamic Da'wah to the world. Although the Caliph is not paid a wage an allowance is assigned to him from the bait ul-mal to meet his needs. This allowance is a compensation for him since he is kept busy with the obligation of the Khilafah and cannot work and pursue his own business interests. This allowance is determined by the Majlis ul-Ummah who will decide through shura (consultation) how much the Caliph's allowance should be. They are the elected representatives of the Ummah and giving them the ultimate decision prevents any abuse of the public funds by the Caliph.

The ruler, governors, delegated assistants and judges - all the positions of ruling are not paid a wage but an allowance as compensation as they are unable to take on employment. In this way Islam ensures money is kept far away from ruling

4. Societal cohesion is achieved through the implementation of Islam, not the security services

The security services in the Arab world are notorious for their brutal methods of torture, often being the only line of defence for the rulers of the region. Whilst the West uses its values of freedom and individualism to glue society together the Muslim rulers have used their security services to maintain their positions of power. Their success was recognised when the US began outsourcing torture through its programme of extraordinary rendition. The West may outlaw such brutal methods at home but have no problem when carried out by foreign regimes if it protects their interests and keeps ruling families in power loyal to the West.

Islam ensures societal cohesion through the implementation of Islam rather than any method of coercion. By restricting the powers of the ruler and establishing many layers of accountability the role of the security services becomes very narrow. Accountability of the state is based on an independent judiciary with extensive powers including the ability to remove of the head of state, individual rights to speech and hold to account any office or agency of the state, the requirement for multiple political parties and an Ummah's council that has the power to scrutinise and overturn state policy, budgets and decision making.

Individuals have the right to account any organ or employee of the state, regardless of rank or seniority, this includes the head of state. Complaints can be submitted to Madhalim office who will initiate a process of validating and following due process in establishing facts. This office has the subsequent power to stipulate punishments. Individuals, Muslims and non Muslims, are allowed the right to peaceful congregation and protest. They are also allowed to seek out support to make representations to the state on their behalf.

It needs to be recognised that the leaderships currently plaguing the Muslim world are not a consequence of Islam, but arose following its demise, they replaced a system with a long history of stability, with checks and balances to prevent authoritarianism. This orientalist depiction of the

Muslim psyche and of Islamic law and theology fails to recognise that the Mubarak's, Saddam's and Gaddafis of the world are all a product of secular thinking, who acted to marginalise Islam from the conduct of the state. They lacked an independent will and entrenched western interests in the region. Islam would liberate people of the region from this entrenched and thoroughly authoritarian political landscape.

Security Services

The scope, remit and jurisdiction of the enforcement agencies in the Khilafah are present in the Islamic sources and should be enshrined in the constitution. This will prevent the introduction of arbitrary laws and act as the reference document against which enforcement agencies are accounted and ensure due process takes places to any material changes in their scope and jurisdiction.

Islam has completely forbidden spying on its citizens, this is not something that can be changed by an act of parliament, or any national security situation. Islam has outlawed spying on the citizens of the Islamic State, Muslim or not, since Allah (SWT) mentioned in the *Qur'an*:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اجْتَنِبُوا كَثِيرًا مِّنَ الظَّنِّ إِنَّ بَعْضَ الظَّنِّ إِثْمٌ وَلَا تَجَسَّسُوا وَلَا يَغْتَبَ بَعْضُكُم بَعْضًا ۚ أَيُحِبُّ

“and spy not on each other.” (Al-Hujurat – 12)

The scope, remit and jurisdiction of the enforcement agencies in the Islam is restricted as outlined in many Ahadith. Their role will be clearly restricted and enshrined in the Khilafah's constitution. This will prevent the introduction of arbitrary laws.

The internal security agencies do not have the power or right to spy or seek out peoples private beliefs. This will have an impact on collecting evidence through covert means, surveillance and violating the privacy of citizens. The privacy of the home and citizen is considered sacrosanct. Their jurisdiction is restricted to enforcing the jurisdiction of the state, this being the public matters

Torture is absolutely forbidden in Islam, any employee found guilty of carrying out physical abuse or torture against any citizen, Muslim or non Muslim, will be punished severely. Islam prohibits imposing a penalty upon the accused before the charge against him has been established and thus prohibits torturing. Torture in principal and from its basis, irrespective of national security is forbidden.

Enforcement agencies will be paid a wage commensurate with their work, benchmarked appropriately to ensure it comfortably affords employees essential living costs with an appropriate level of disposal income. This is, in part, to disincentivise employees undertaking additional jobs to compensate that may give rise to a conflict of interests and also corruption.

In summary:-

- The people whether elected or from the masses take no part in legislating, in this way what is right or wrong remains fixed and cannot be changed at a whim.
- Via these fixed laws a constitution can be constructed and this allows for justice as everyone knows where they stand and are subject to the same laws as the rest of society.
- It is the people's right to elect their ruler, via whatever mechanism is most suitable. No individual becomes the ruler without a popular mandate.
- The ruler has extensive executive powers, but is restricted by Islam and the powers entrusted by the people
- Islamic governance has rigorous measures of accountability which act as checks and balances
- Money and politics are completely separated in Islamic governance which deals with corruption that plagues democracies new and old.
- Societal cohesion is maintained through the implementation of Islam rather than internal security services

The Dilemmas of the Economy

The first Arab Human Development Report (AHDR 2002) characterized the Arab world as “richer than it is developed.” Today we find most of the countries in the region are not established or constructed upon their strengths.

Across the region there is a consistent pattern of massive policy failures on very basic matters such as food security, education, development and employment. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) reported in 2009 that over 100 million people live below the two dollars-a-day international poverty line.

Poverty in the Muslim world¹²

Egypt the largest country in the region has suffered from massive mismanagement for the past few decades. According to the World Bank 40% of the Egyptian population, some 30.8 million people, live in poverty. Egypt’s economy has been ruined largely by the self-destructive policies of successive regimes. In the 1960’s Egypt was self sufficient in wheat, grains etc. It was able to satisfy the needs of its population. In the 1990’s under IMF and World Bank pressure Egypt was forced to restructure its economy through increasing exports and reducing the reliance on agriculture. Today Egypt produces 8 million tons of wheat per year, which falls far short of the 14 million tons required to feed its 80 million people.

Country	% in Poverty
Bangladesh	88%
Mauritania	46%
Yemen	41%
Egypt	40%
Iran	40%
Pakistan	33%
Jordan	30%
Syria	12%

The difference is made up by imported wheat from the US, financed by aid money.

Saudi Arabia has an economy with Industry constituting 60% of economy, however 71% of the labour force works in services, on top of this 80% of workforce is also foreign. Around five and a half million foreign workers play an important role in the Saudi economy – due to oil – the majority of the Saudi population do not benefit from such a narrow economy.

Oil as a percentage of exports¹³

A number of nations in the region have a heavy reliance on oil exports, this has created a dependency on the oil process and has kept such economies narrowly focused. The energy infrastructure in the region was constructed by foreign companies and today is dominated by foreign companies. Very little technology or knowledge transfer has taken place which could have reduced unemployment significantly. This has created a dependency on foreign technical expertise which is consistently used to meet political ends.

Iraq	99%
Algeria	98%
Kuwait	93%
Saudi Arabia	90%
Libya	90%
Iran	86%
UAE	40%

Such huge energy wealth remains in the hands of monarchs, families and business elites with the vast bulk of the population languishing in poverty. In Saudi Arabia the oil wealth remains within the royal family who subsidise the lifestyles of their expanding family or the wealth is spent bailing out Western institutions.

In the realm of policy development the regions energy driven economies have failed to use their energy wealth to stimulate the wider economy. The energy policy of the region appears to be

focused on ensuing global energy price stability and ensuring global energy supply meets global consumption demands. All of this has taken place with the exception of domestic industrial development in the region.

Whilst the region produces over 40% of the world’s daily oil, only 8% of it is refined in the region. 76% of the world’s oil is refined in regions with very little oil, but increasing demand for oil. The US refines 20% of the world’s oil, whilst Europe refines 22% of the world’s oil and the Far East refines 27% of the world’s oil. Hence even though the Middle East has the lions share of oil, in essence this is useless considering the inability to refine it, for this reason most of the oil is piped to the Far East and Europe to be refined, then the products are re-sold to the Muslim world

% of oil refined domestically¹⁴

Qatar	55%
Iran	46%
Kuwait	36%
Iraq	38%
Libya	22%
Saudi Arabia	21%

The region has for the moment not exploited the other renewable options available to it. The desert geography would give considerable solar prospects, which would lead to the innovation of new technologies, create jobs and reduce the dependency on fossils.

The non-oil economies in the region such as Sudan, Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, whilst rich in Agriculture and minerals rely upon oil-related services, worker remittances, intraregional investment flows, regional tourism receipts and aid.

This reliance on food imports has resulted in more and more of government budgets being spent on food due to the rise in international food prices. The subsequent food riots have led to governments in the region resorting to food and fuel subsidies which have not dealt with any of the underlying problems of food security.

Oil-led growth has created weak structural foundations in the region’s economies. Many countries are turning into increasingly import oriented and service based economies. The types of services developed are the low end of the value adding chain and this contributes little to local knowledge development and has locked countries into inferior positions in global markets. This trend has been at the expense of agriculture, manufacturing and industrial production.

The Middle East today is the carbon region of the world. It possesses the world’s largest oil and gas fields and dominates energy production. The region possesses over 60% of the worlds oil reserves, more than the rest of the world combined. The region produces 42% of the world’s daily oil requirement. The region also possesses 54% of the world’s Gas reserves and produces 30% of the world’s daily Gas requirements. Oil differs from region to region in its thickness and its chemical composition. The oil pumped from the Middle East is the preferred choice since its extraction is relatively simple and its refining is cheaper due to it being the light ‘sweet’ type of crude oil. In contrast the heavier crude oils extracted from the Caspian basin are far more costly to extract and refine and are far more polluting. Despite possessing such strengths much of the region has crumbling energy infrastructure leaving many without electricity. Whilst Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states have advanced energy infrastructures much of their populations live in poverty. Much of the energy infrastructure in the Persian Gulf and the Hijaz was developed by Britain and the US.

A third of the agricultural production in the region is exported abroad to earn foreign currency reserves, this is at a time when most of the region is in poverty and with some nations struggling with agricultural production due to the climate.

Many nations in the region have the bulk of their labour forces working in agriculture, but with the economy dominated by services or industry. This creates a skewed economy not driven by its strengths.

Most of the Arab countries in the region have experienced significant deindustrialization over the last four decades, according to 2009 Arab Human Development Report (AHDR 2009) the Arab countries were less industrialized in 2007 than in 1970, almost four decades ago.

The region has only been able to develop heavy industry related to oil and gas mining. Whilst the region is home to heavy industrial infrastructure important to the global economy the region has failed in developing a manufacturing sector which would create jobs and eliminate dependency on foreign investment and foreign aid.

The inability of many of the regions countries to develop sustainable sectors of the economy has resulted in 14% of regional export earnings going to debt servicing. In Lebanon, debt servicing accounts for 47% of the government's budget. Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia spend more on debt servicing than they do on education; all spend twice as much on debt service than they do on health care. Sudan and Yemen are among the 41 countries identified as Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPCs).

	Debt (\$)	% of GDP
UAE	122b	41%
Saudi Arabia	82b	19%
Qatar	71b	55%
Kuwait	56b	43%
Iraq	52b	64%
Lebanon	34b	88%
Egypt	30b	14%
Morocco	22b	22%
Tunisia	18b	42%

The rulers in the region have opted to put much of their energy windfall into foreign investments, external reserves and oil stabilization funds, foreign military equipment and to repay debts. Very little of this money has been used to construct industry which would have created many jobs, stimulated the economy and brought in taxation for central government.

The lack of a sustainable driving engine for the regions economies has resulted in Unemployment. Data from the Arab Labour Organization show that in 2009 the overall average unemployment rate for the Arab countries was about 14.4% of the labour force compared to 6.3% for the world at large. The lack of large scale infrastructure – much needed in the region which would have created jobs has never been undertaken. Governments in the region have a tendency to have large public sectors, which employ more than a third of the workforce, keeping the economy narrowly focused.

Fundamentally the lack of direction for the economies of the region has led to weak job-generating capacity.

Capitalist Economics

The Year 2010 was an unprecedented time in history; the wealth generated in the year reached a record \$74 trillion, the most generated in any year in history. After WW2 the world economy was a mere \$1 trillion. The adoption of Capitalism in Europe set in motion the industrial revolution in the 18th century which has led to unqualified prosperity and progress, unmatched in history.

Advocates of Capitalism since the fall of Communism continue to remind the world how prosperous the world's population is, even considering Capitalism progress itself. Some capitalists have even been 'civilisationally racist', if there was such a term, due to considering themselves superior to every other civilisation. The Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi boasted after the events of 9/11, "*we must be aware of the superiority of our civilisation, a system that has guaranteed well being, respect for human rights and - in contrast with Islamic countries - respect for religious and political rights, a system that has its values understanding of diversity and tolerance...The West will conquer peoples, like it conquered Communism, even if it means a confrontation with another civilisation, the Islamic one, stuck where it was 1,400 years ago*"¹⁵

The Economist even had the audacity in the middle of the global financial meltdown to say '*Bubbles, excess and calamity are part of the package of Western finance. And still it is worth it.*'¹⁶

For the West, the success of their economies in creating wealth and prosperity is justification enough for the world to adopt the free market. Whilst many see no reason for not adopting Western liberal economics in the Muslim world, this claim should be scrutinised and assessed. Scrutinising the track record of the free market reveals a whole host of flaws that make it unsuitable for the Muslim world.

1. Capitalism has failed in distributing wealth in any equitable manner

Under the dominance of Capitalism, history's greatest ever wealth fault line has developed. Whilst the majority of the world barely survives on a few dollars, the US has most of the world's billionaires, in what is mankind's greatest lopsided world economy. In 2006 the World Institute for Development Economics Research of the UN released the culmination of a global study. A number of its findings are staggering. By gathering research from countries all over the world the study concluded that the richest 1% of the world owns 40% of the planet's wealth and that only 10% of the world's population owned 85% of the world's assets.¹⁷ Richard Robbins in his award winning book 'Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism' confirmed this when he said: '*The emergence of Capitalism represents a culture that is in many ways is the most successful that has ever been deployed in terms of accommodating large numbers of individuals in relative and absolute comfort and luxury. It has not been as successful, however, in integrating all in equal measure, and its failure here remains one of its major problems.*'

Even in the birth place of Capitalism and today's epicentre, Europe and the US, wealth distribution remains a massive failure. The UK generated wealth (GDP) of £1.4 trillion in 2010. If we look at how much the 62 million population of the UK received of this generated wealth, statistics from HM Revenue and Customs (HMRC) show that the richest 10% possess 56% of the nation's wealth and that only 73% of the British population shared in only 25% of this wealth. This has resulted in the majority of the population resorting to borrowing to fund their lifestyles and this is why UK consumer debt is more than the economy itself at £1.7 trillion. The US situation is even worse. The US may generate \$14.8 trillion a year in wealth but consumer debt is \$15.6 trillion. This means US citizens are funding their lifestyles by borrowed money rather than the \$14.8 trillion the economy generated. Recent statistics from the US Department of Commerce shows that the richest 1% of the US population owns 34% of America's wealth. The richest 20% own 50% of the country's wealth. The remaining 80% of America's population share in only 15% of the nation's wealth. The same pattern exists across the Western world as the table shows.

Country	wealth owned by top 10%
Switzerland	71.3%
United States	69.8%
Denmark	65.0%
France	61.0%
Sweden	58.6%
UK	56.0%
Canada	53.0%
Norway	50.5%
Germany	44.4%
Finland	42.3%

This situation exists because capitalism focuses primarily on economic growth, the distribution of wealth, which is generated due to this growth is left to the forces of the free market to distribute. The trickle down effect is meant to then flow from the top to the bottom as the economy grows. In reality however capitalism will always fail in distributing wealth equitably as it focuses on economic growth leaving distribution to the forces of the market that have a track record of self destructing.

2. The need to constantly grow (Perpetual economic growth) leads to Boom and Bust

Since Adam Smith, who is credited with first introducing the idea of the free market, the world has witnessed a slump, crash, depression, recession, meltdown and collapse every decade. The reason why such crises occur is due to the aims capitalism attempts to achieve with the economy. The aim of any market economy is to ensure the economy grows every year, perpetual economic growth is the equivalent of the five daily prayers in Islam. The growth of economies is measured by Gross Domestic product (GDP) which is the monetary value of the production of all goods and services in an economy.

For the economy to be practically achieving what Capitalism has laid as its ideal, the sectors that contribute most towards the economy must always be growing, a fall in production in such a sector that dominates the economy will have the effect of forcing the whole economy to shrink. The UK economy has a service sector which represents 80% of the economy, the service sector is dominated by the financial industry to such an extent the financial industry contributes £350 billion to Britain's £1.4 trillion economy.

Hence in Britain like most Western economies one sector drives the economy which in effect are bubbles waiting to burst. This is because when the economy is on the ascent it will always be driven by one sector which is used to stimulate the remainder of the economy. Once this engine runs out of

steam, it causes the inevitable bust. A bubble is aided in its expansion because of the ability to print money at will, citizens spending beyond their means and the availability of debt, all these contribute towards expanding the bubble.

Economic growth requires the economy to continually grow, which in turn needs consumers to continually spend, the availability of debt allows this on a massive scale. Once consumers have spent beyond their means to such an extent that they realize they probably cannot repay the debt borrowed, a cut in spending will have the effect of cutting off re-fuelling during a flight.

Perpetual economic growth is not sustainable and is what causes the regular crash, in no way is there an act of nature that causes a downturn, this in fact is a cop - out by free market ideologues when the free market fails.

Case Study: Dubai

Dubai symbolized the economic boom of the 21st Century. With its vast lavish construction projects and world-class sporting events, it quickly became the prime destination for some of the world's largest and leading financial and service corporations. The driving engine for Dubai was never sustainable. Dubai's growth was initially through its oil wealth. This wealth was used to develop Dubai to attract foreign investment and soon enough, foreign companies and foreign workers arrived looking for an opportunity in Dubai. Its position as a trading hub meant many companies relocated its staff to work from Dubai which is fundamentally what brought Dubai its wealth.

This was never sustainable. The skilled workers that were developing the service sector were mostly from overseas, with only a small percentage of Dubai's population today considered to be native Arabs. Its growth has been a direct result of it becoming an essentially tax-free zone for foreign nationals and companies. These companies, whilst providing jobs and income to people in the country, are not transferring any technical skills to the people. Its property market boom was due in large part to speculation that the prices would continue to rise.

As Dubai was built upon foreign money, it now awakes to find that this has dried up, so in essence Dubai's source of growth has been cut, causing the breakneck building-boom to come to a crashing halt. The lending bonanza has evaporated and the government continues to ponder wider steps to rescue banks, including asking its neighbouring emirate, Abu Dhabi, for financial assistance. Dubai does not produce any manufactured products that the people in the city buy. It is a city that is not self-sufficient, as it neither has the infrastructure nor the natural resources in place to develop the products it consumes. Dubai was, by all means, a bubble waiting to burst.

Whilst Dubai is one example, the need for constant economic growth inevitably leads to a bust.

3. Financial Markets create chaos due to short term thinking

The financial markets are considered one of the chief developments of Capitalism. With money in the trillions moving almost instantly, with billions being made and lost at the touch of a button. Liberals would have us believe how did we ever do without them.

Sovereign debt to GDP	
UK	400%
Japan	200%
France	182%
Spain	154%
Germany	142%
Italy	108%
US	99%

However the global financial crisis has shown us that the financial markets breed short term thinking and create a two tier economy, with the real economy and a parallel financial economy. The Greek sovereign debt crisis epitomises this thinking. At the centre of the crisis is the fractional reserve banking system where a small amount of physical money in notes and coins can be used to create debts many folds over. Greece has debts of €300 billion, with an economy of only €240 billion and a government budget of only €91 billion.

Greece has to finance debts of €53 billion in 2011. Greece currently is only surviving with the help of the European Central Bank's (ECB) liquidity provisions – bailouts. Successive Greek governments went on spending sprees after joining the Eurozone, in turn many public sector jobs, new pension plans and many other social benefits were created overnight. The spending addiction included high-profile projects such as the 2004 Athens Olympics, which went well over budget.

The problem with deficit spending and debt fuelled growth is at some point the debt will have to be repaid. Most government do not worry about deadline day as it will always be in the future with another government, hence it's their problem to deal with. For Greece, the last decade's debt is now due for repayment, but the kitty is sitting empty.

The financial markets consist of tradable paper, which have financial values which rise and fall based upon supply and demand. They have become so sophisticated that various products have been created which allow an investment in a paper with no real asset represented. This side of the economy is valued more then the real economy. The existence of the financial markets has created dual economies in the West – the financial and the real economy. Cabinet ministers in charge of the economy are in effect managing two economies which require two distinct sets of policies. The ability to create money for the financial economy, creates speculation which drives house prices up and causes inflation in the real economy.

Global Markets	Value (\$ trillion)
Derivatives	791
Bond Market	82.2
Stock Market	36.6
Currency	3.98

The impact of what happens in the financial markets eventually spreads to the real economy. The derivatives market, which is the largest segment of the financial markets is purely for speculation, no real trade in goods or services takes place.

4. Capitalist economics causes Greed and Exploitation

The greed shown by the bankers which caused the global financial crisis is not something isolated that has occurred for the first time in capitalist history, it is something that forms the cornerstone of capitalist belief and thought. The founding fathers of capitalism concluded that if all consumers in society followed and acted upon their self-interests (greed) then the right goods would get to the right people in a free market, it would lead to innovation as society competed to make items better and cheaper. Economists since then have continued to argue that greed goes hand in hand with the

free market as it is necessary for consumers to pursue their greed for wealth to distribute around the economy.

This has led to the current situation where hedge fund managers and company CEO's pursued millions in bonuses, caring little for how this was earned. In many cases corporations conducted themselves in a manner that showed little consideration of the repercussions their actions had on wider society.

Greed is from the Capitalist belief, its toxic results have led to Western governments resorting to legislation and regulation in an attempt at curtailing this toxicity. However in no way can regulation curtail actions built upon values which are the foundations of the Capitalist belief.

Greed played a central role in the largest corporate bankruptcies in US. The collapse of Enron Corporation (the worlds dominant energy trader) in 2001 highlighted how greedy executives attempted to make a quick dollar by any means necessary.

In order for Enron executives to continue paying themselves large bonuses and be able to give large payments to their shareholders Enron created offshore entities that would be transferred their losses which would then no longer be shown on Enron's balance sheet. Enron's executives performed financial deception to create the illusion of billions in profits while the company was actually losing money. This practice drove up their stock price to new levels, at which point the executives began to work on insider information and trade millions of dollars worth of Enron stock. The executives and insiders at Enron knew about the offshore accounts that were hiding losses for the company; however shareholders knew nothing of this fraud. Arthur Anderson audited their accounts and gave their approval to the state of Enron's books. The fraud become public when Enron announced a \$1 billion loss in October 2001 and with the loss of investor confidence and accusations of fraud and subsequent regulatory investigations revealed over \$9 billion losses. On November 30th 2001 Enron filed for bankruptcy, its workers were told to pack up their belongings and were given 30 minutes to vacate the head office. 4,000 employees lost their jobs, savings, children's college funds and pensions.

Greed played a central role in the largest corporate bankruptcies in US. The collapse of Enron Corporation (the worlds dominant energy trader) in 2001 highlighted how greedy executives attempted to make a quick dollar by any means necessary.

5. Fiat Currencies cause Price instability

The fiat standard in its entirety is only a relatively recent adoption. The US abandoned the Gold standard which was the standard of currency for most of human history. This is where all currency in circulation has an equivalent physical gold and silver backing. Currencies were eventually converted to freely floating to be brought in line with the free market. It was also undertaken by the US in 1970 in order to make the dollar the global standard and ensure that all international commodity prices would be priced in dollars.

As the dollar is the domestic currency of America, this has linked the world's fate to the US economy. Nations around the world must keep a segment for their reserves in dollars in order to pay for international transactions which are priced in dollars, this would include oil and many other commodities. However when the US prints money – which it can do at will as it is its currency, this leads to a devaluation in the dollars held in reserves by the world, this effectively means the amount a nation's dollars can purchase reduces at the touch of the printing press button in New York.

The ability to print money at will, with no link to anything, as fiat money is just a piece of paper enforced by governments, this causes price instability. Increasing the supply of money in an economy leads to inflation (price rises) as the amount of money in the economy is chasing goods and services which remain at this same level. This disproportionate and arbitrary increase causes inflation. The new invention of electronically creating money through Quantitative Easing (QE) causes greater levels of inflation.

This is literally killing people in the third world as food prices rise, which are priced in dollars on the international markets. The ability of the financial markets to speculate on such prices only adds to the price of food increasing thereby literally starving the third world who cannot afford to buy basic foodstuffs. The printing of money has a direct correlation to the food crisis and poverty in the third world, rather than capitalism pulling people out of poverty it is literally pushing them to their deaths as the price of staple foods is beyond their disposable income.

6. Liberalisation turns economies into markets for the West

The last few decades has seen Capitalism dominate the international development scene. It has completely monopolised economic development and enforced its formula upon the world. Two models of economic development have dominated the post WW2 world. Free market ideologues continue to cite the free market, IMF and World Bank (Washington Consensus) driven deregulated markets and growth strategies as success stories in Latin America and Africa. Whilst the rapid industrialisation of the tiger economies through high growth and export driven strategies are heralded as a distinctly Asian approach to development which needs replication across the world. Analysis of both liberal models shows they have been unsustainable and have left a number of nations in disarray. The idea was that these models of Capitalist economic development would place poor countries on a path of development similar to that experienced by Western industrialised nations during the Industrial Revolution.

Latin America eventually saw crises of varying sorts as focusing development on growth strategies makes a nation reliant on foreign investment and trade. This has never been a root to sustainable growth because fundamentally the country is extremely vulnerable to factors outside its control. Moreover, if one looks at the composition of GDP among Western economies, exports play a relatively insignificant role. In the US, the world's largest economy, exports represent less than 10% of GDP. Such a strategy only leads to the development of a narrow aspect of the economy which foreign companies are interested in, this leaves a nation open to the economic conditions of other countries.

The 'tiger' economy was a term coined to describe South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan who underwent rapid growth and industrialisation in the 1960's and 1970's. It was considered a distinctly 'Asian' approach to economic development. The East Asian economies focused on development characteristics which Japan had initially pioneered and became a purely export driven economy. These countries and territories focused on developing goods for export to the industrialised West and domestic consumption was discouraged through government policies.

Beginning in 1995 and culminating in the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, all the region's tiger economies experienced huge withdrawals of capital as speculators withdrew their money, dragging the economies of South East Asia with them. Under the guise of liberalisation capital flows were liberalised, leaving the region's economies helpless when speculators withdrew their capital. This problem was aptly encapsulated by Economic expert Paul Krugman of Princeton University "*As long as capital flows freely, nations will be vulnerable to self-fulfilling speculative attacks, and policymakers will be forced to play the confidence game. And so we come to the question of whether capital should really be allowed to flow so freely.*"²

Liberalism has a track record of failure and in reality leaves an economy exposed to conditions of the global economy.

Islamic Economics

In origin every economic system attempts to address the same issues, namely how to utilise the available resources in order to satisfy the needs of the people. Hence every economic system would define the individual and the needs that require satisfaction. **How such resources are allocated and distributed is where each economic system differs.** Hence, capitalism distributes resources, goods and services by leaving allocation to the market, where prices are set according to supply and demand. Whilst Socialism allocates resources centrally according to the principal '*each according to his ability, and each according to his needs.*' All economic systems have defined descriptions of ownership and how the interplay of supply and demand create prices and these definitions allow for the derivation of rules for buying, selling, investments, employment and company structures.

This work is not meant to provide an elaborate exposition of the Islamic economic system but rather to demonstrate what is possible with the application of some of Islam's unique economic solutions. The key distinguishing feature between all economic systems is how wealth, resources and goods are circulated around the economy. The manner of distribution of resources, how goods and services should be circulated amongst the public, whether they should go to the rich elite, multinational companies or the feudal landlords etc, is not a discussion upon the reality. The wage levels in society, the distribution of company profits and wealth distribution can never be taken from the reality as the reality does not explain this. The goods and their constituent parts do not manifest themselves with answers of who they should go to. Neither is there any evidence from looking purely at the goods and services themselves any answers on how they should be distributed.

The Islamic rules for the macro economy centre on ensuring unrestricted wealth circulation occurs. The importance Islam places on this is fundamentally because every person and company as well as government income originates from another person or company. Taxes levied by the state are regarded as income for the state and an expense to individuals. The monies spent on projects by

government and salaries paid would be income for the individuals and an expense to the state. The money spent by employees on goods is an expense to them and income to companies. Any thing that gets in the way of such free circulation, such as hoarding, would in fact take wealth out of circulation. This would lead to a fall in spending, which would reduce production and result in the complete halting of the economy. Solutions unique to Islam in achieving unrestricted wealth circulation include:

1. **The Islamic economy is built around the real economy and does not have a Western style parallel financial economy.** The Islamic economy is built upon the real economy with agriculture and manufacturing the key sectors in the economy that generate wealth. Islam does not recognise the interest-based, speculative driven financial markets in their current form as seen in the west. The Islamic economy creates wealth through the manufacturing of real goods and the value added at each stage of production. This in no way means Islam is against a service sector, in an Islamic economy the emphasis is upon the real economy. By removing the role dubious financial markets in an economy, their remains the real economy where trade, investment, salaries and wealth is generated and circulated. This creates the much needed stability absent in free market economies as speculation has been effectively removed. The \$700 trillion derivatives market allows speculation upon events in the real economy on a huge scale, the ability to make money in such a manner means it ceases to be in the real economy creating a parallel economy. The Islamic economy in effect only has the real economy, hence all participants engage in the same sphere.
2. **The Islamic economy has a secure and stable monetary policy with the gold and silver standard.** The Islamic ruling on a Gold and Silver standard creates a stable economy allowing long term decisions to be made. In Islam when it comes to exchanging a commodity with a specific monetary unit, Islam has guided us to the monetary unit by which the exchange is to take place. It has restricted the state to a specific type of money, which is primarily gold and silver. The Islamic evidences have designated gold and silver as the primary measuring unit for prices and labour. This is understood from the actions of Muhammad (saw) when he collected Zakat, levied taxes and imposed fines, all were measured according to gold and silver. Having a gold and silver backed currency will bring the much needed stability to the economy by containing inflation. Currently the world is plagued by the spectre of inflation as governments across the world continue to print money at will. Islam solved this problem by pegging the currency to metal; this essentially restricts the state as any increase in money supply requires more gold and silver. As a result the state will need to very carefully plan increases in money supply as it will need more metal each time plus it will have to monitor the production level in the country to ensure it doesn't create a scenario where there is more money than the amount of goods circulating in the economy. In this way Inflation will be rare in an Islamic economy, this allows for stable purchasing power which causes certainty in the economy.
3. **Islam's Fiscal policy removes direct and indirect forms of taxation, which leads to economic growth.** The level of taxation in any nation will affect people's behaviour, including their choices with regards to working patterns, saving and investing. Taxation in the west has created a number of problems in wealth distribution where the burden falls

heavily upon the poor with the rich utilising tax loopholes and tax havens. Islam has a completely different perspective on the economy and tax as the Islamic basis is different to that of capitalism. Fundamentally taxation in Islam and under the Khilafah places emphasis of taxation on wealth rather than income.

Tax Comparison

	Islamic economy	Britain
Average British 2010 salary	£24,000	
Direct tax		
Income tax – 20%	0	£4,800
National Insurance contributions - 11%	0	£2,640
Indirect tax		
Value added tax (VAT) – 17.5%	0	£4,200
Council tax £1,440	0	£1440
Road tax £180	0	£180
Wealth tax – 2.5%	£581	0
Total tax	£581	£13,260
Total tax as percentage of salary	3%	55%

The Islamic taxation system does not tax income, but taxes wealth. This means that the average person will be left with much more disposable income and will be liable for tax on whatever wealth is left at the end of the Islamic tax year. This will have a significant effect on the economy as in such an economy one will have much more disposable income. Islamic taxation is not comprised of income tax, value added tax, nor excise duties. The effect of this on the economy is significant as calculations on average salaries in Europe have shown that between 50% - 60% of one's income can be taxed due to income based taxation systems. A wealth based tax regime means one has more disposable income at the end of a tax year which means more wealth is available for spending or investment which would stimulate the economy, causing economic growth.

4. **The Islamic prohibition of interest frees up idle wealth.** The existence of interest causes wealth to remain in banks in order to accrue interest rather than circulate in the economy. In free market economies all banks use most of their customer deposits to speculate on the financial markets which is a double whammy as money again is not circulating in the real economy. The removal of interest removes the incentive to deposit excess wealth in banks for long periods. The only way to increase wealth is through investing it across the economy in projects or entering into business. In this way an Islamic economy will grow and it will be real growth built upon wealth which is invested in the economy rather than debt. Unrestricted wealth circulation is what primarily will lead to economic growth in the Islamic economy.

5. **Islam has laid detailed rules on State intervention across the economy through the administrating of public properties (Al-Milkiyyah Al-Ammah).** Islam has laid out detailed rules on what assets can and cannot be owned by the public and government. Anything that qualifies as being indispensable to the community is a community utility and a public property. Thus water sources, the forests, large pastures for livestock and the like are all public utilities as well as oil fields, electricity plants, motorways and coalmines. This would also include roads, rivers, seas, lakes, public canals, gulfs, straits and dams. Also

including all the uncountable and un-depleted (i.e. large deposits) of minerals whether they on the surface of the earth such as salt, coal, sapphire, ruby, gold, silver, iron, copper, lead and the like. Whether they are solid like crystal or fluid like oil. In contrast to capitalism such essential utilities are all generally available for private ownership whatever the effect upon wider society. Islam ordained the Khilafah to play a very specific role in the economy and forbade individuals from owning utilities that are indispensable for society. In this way the state plays a direct role in ensuring essential utilities are developed and made available to the public.

Islam does not separate the economy from its political objectives. The Islamic economy supplements political aims. This means the economy is not constructed in isolation but in a way to achieve Islam political ambitions. Political aims which are specific to Islam include:

- **The aim of the Khilafah is to propagate Islam.** Allah (swt) outlined the aims of the Khilafah state. Internally Allah (swt) obliged the implementation of the Shari'ah rules of Islam, whilst externally dawah and the propagation of Islam is the aim. Throughout numerous ayah's of the Qur'an Allah (swt) obliged the Ummah to propagate Islam to the wider world, take mankind from the darkness to the light while in other verses Allah (swt) characterised the Muslim Ummah as the best Ummah due to having such characteristics.

الرَّكَّابُ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ إِلَيْكَ لِتُخْرِجَ النَّاسَ مِنَ الظُّلُمَاتِ إِلَى النُّورِ بِإِذْنِ رَبِّهِمْ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ الْعَزِيزِ الْحَمِيدِ

“This is a book which we have revealed to you, [O Muhammad], that you might bring mankind out of darkness into the light by the permission of their Lord – to the path of the Exalted in Might, the Praiseworthy” (14:1)

The propagation of Islam is achieved through projecting an image of strength globally, so that those who have designs on the Ummah should consider the existence of its deterrent force so powerful as to render success in an attack too doubtful to be worthwhile. All of this makes it essential for the Khilafah to field an advanced military and have a strong industrial base, which can aid the propagation of the daw'ah and protect the ummah.

- **Islam calls for the abandonment of institutions such as the IMF, World Bank, United Nations and others established to maintain foreign influence.** Whilst the failure rates of these institutions speak for themselves, these institutes have been established to maintain Western influence in the Muslim lands and thus their presence, membership in the Muslim lands would be prohibited. The Brookings Institute confirmed in a report *“The United States has viewed all multilateral organisations including the World Bank, as instruments of foreign policy to be used in support of specific US aims and objectives...US views regarding how the world economy should be organised, how resources should be allocated and how investment decisions should be reached were enshrined in the Charter and the operational policies of the bank.”*¹⁸ All of this means Islam promotes self sufficiency and independence in

the economy and gives priority to domestic economic development rather than globalisation, the free market or Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

- **Islam calls for the strategic use of the Ummah's assets.** The actions of Muhammed (saw) included the strategic use of trade routes and making deals with tribes for joint ventures. Today Saudi Arabia has been endowed with mineral wealth which is a prerequisite for industrialisation. Saudi Arabia has not only failed to develop but 20% of its population live under the poverty line. Many of the Muslim economies are not built on their strengths. Many of the African nations have been forced to concentrate on single commodities rather than build their economies upon minerals and resources they have in abundance. Nigeria and Egypt have neglected their agricultural potential in order to build a service based economy. In the Middle East the abundance of fossil fuel has not translated into the development of industry. Many Ayah's in the Qur'an call for the strategic use of the Ummah's strengths, such as

وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهَبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ
وَأَخْرَيْنَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ لَأَتَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ

"And prepare against them what force you can and horses tied at the frontier, to frighten thereby the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them, whom you do not know (but) Allah knows them; and whatever thing you will spend in Allah's way, it will be paid back to you fully and you shall not be dealt with unjustly." (Al-Anfal: 60)

- **Islam calls for the reunification of the Muslim lands.** The Khilafah state, which is the model for Islamic governance does not recognise the nation states that exist today in the Muslim territories. Islam rejects all notions of nationalism, which was central to the development of Western nations. Islam forbids having more than one ruler and thus more than one Islamic state. This allows for massive synergies across the Muslim lands of industry, agriculture, resources and minerals. It will allow for the energy rich regions and agricultural rich nations to cater for each other, ending foreign dependency and allowing for domestic economic development.

With these political ambitions and economic solutions the following policies can be constructed and pursued:

Macroeconomy

1. Currently most of the Muslim lands have economies that are not constructed upon their strengths. Most of the economies are lop sided where they are dependent on a handful of fossil resources or are service driven. In many cases the majority of the population work in sectors which play a minor role in driving the economy. This situation will need to be reoriented as it does not meet the needs of the region. This should be achieved through a number of 5 year plans to increase mineral production and increase industrial production. The initial production levels should be proportional to the production needed to develop national infrastructure.

2. The regions countries need to take control of its raw materials and expand its mineral processing infrastructure. The reliance on foreign companies only sustains such a dependency. The regions economies should either be agricultural driven or industrial led.
3. The oil rich countries of the region currently posses just a handful of industrial complexes. Central government should promote those industries which aid the industrialisation drive. This includes heavy industry, steel refining, iron mills and chemical compounds.
4. The non-oil countries should be driven through the mechanisation of agriculture which will allow them to also change their current situation.
5. Through integrating the economies of the region, duplication will be avoided. The North African economies are rich in agriculture, whilst the economies of the Hijaz are rich in fossil. By one region providing for the other duplication will have been removed bringing stability to the region. This should also end foreign dependency.
6. Pursuing self sufficiency requires the construction of infrastructure and heavy industry, such a policy will create millions of jobs and deal with the unemployment situation in the region. It will also move people out of poverty and allow the region to make use of its disposable income, further stimulating the economy.

Energy Security

1. Despite current supply shortages of oil around the world, the importance of the Middle East will not reduce. In fact it will become the most crucial area in the world. This is because 61% of the world's oil reserves are in the Middle East. "Proved" oil reserves are those quantities of oil that geological information indicates can be with reasonable certainty recovered in the future from known reservoirs. Of the trillion barrels currently estimated only 39% are outside the Middle East. Today, 61% of global oil reserves are in the hands of Middle Eastern regimes: Saudi Arabia (22%), Iraq (11%), Iran (8%), UAE (9%), Kuwait (9%), and Libya (2%).
2. The use of fossil energy should follow a clear policy rather than be used for all types of industrial and domestic use. Oil and Gas should be allocated to essential uses such as feed stocks, plastics, agriculture, petrochemicals as no alternatives currently exist for these.
3. Considering that 90% of all transport is currently oil dependent, transport that can run on alternatives means should be developed. This would imply the use of compressed natural gas (CNG) for public transport and personal automobiles. Pakistan another Muslim country currently has the highest number of compressed natural gas (CNG)-run vehicles in the world.
4. The current infrastructures in the region was developed in a time to serve colonial interests, and were in themselves copying the realities that were particular to European nations. This is most commonly seen in the form of national grids strongly based on centralized generation. This form of power generation tends to be heavily reliant on the cheapest source of energy such as coal or oil to power large stations which would then export power far and wide. The ideal policy out of this

situation would be to work towards a de-centralized model of energy generation. At its core the model of de-centralization is to map most effectively localized supply to localized demand. This would be the shortest route to reverse the crumbling energy infrastructure which has become symbolic of the region.

5. Homes and commercial buildings should be designed with increasing levels of energy self-sufficiency, through the use of micro-generation, building integrated photovoltaic, solar thermal technologies and ground-source heat pumps. Local and regional areas should begin to incorporate medium scale technologies such as waste-to-energy and cogeneration facilities.

6. Through a decentralised grid local power generation can be achieved through the use of renewable energy. The most ideal situation in a decentralised network is where every building is itself a power source. This could take place via the Khilafah adopting building standards whereby all new buildings must have a certain percentage of its energy needs met through micro-generation i.e. through solar power. This means there will be less reliance on the state's infrastructure.

7. Foreign companies dominate the energy sector in the region. The biggest problem is the fact that such companies do not transfer skills or technology to the country they work in. For foreign companies to operate in the region they should be made to sign agreements in order to transfer technologies to the host nations. This is something China has successfully employed, all foreign companies that operate in China's Special Economic Zones (SEZ) are forced to transfer technology. Through this refineries can be constructed which are much needed in the region, but also ring-fence foreign influence.

Agricultural security

1. The region should aim to achieve near self-sufficiency in staple grains like wheat, rice, maize, oilseed, as these provide the basic ingredients for a vast variety of food production.

2. In contrast to current farming methods, the role of the state should be to promote 'competitive' food, farming and fisheries industries. Farming, food and fisheries are of the private properties. They should be owned by individuals and companies who employ workers, buy land and hire plant and machinery. These are all from the private properties as they do not fulfil the conditions of public or state properties.

3. Central government should aim to increase agricultural output and yields to fulfil the food requirements of growing populations who currently have inadequate supplies of affordable food. Owner occupation of small land holdings will provide wealth and livelihoods to the poor who mostly live in rural areas and in poverty. Large numbers of small holdings will inhibit price fixing and cartels while promoting price competition lowering the prices of produce.

4. Labour as opposed to capital intensity would ensure jobs and employment for the masses of rural poor boosting the rural economy more generally and encouraging supplementary and support industries like transport, retail, schooling, health etc boosting employment in a variety of sectors and generating a thriving rural economy. This will have the indirect benefit of keeping most of the

rural people in the rural lands easing pressures on urbanisation with already overcrowded cities lacking adequate basic public services.

5. Islam obliges the confiscation of land which is unused for three years. The three year rule and the prohibition on leasing agricultural land will break- up large unutilised feudal holdings and grant them to the people which will give them employment and move them out of poverty.

6. Conferring land ownership will incentivise production increasing yields and output. It will also provide food and livelihood to the rural poor increasing their families disposable income. This will also be a key policy tool in alleviating poverty.

7. Integrating the regions agricultural output will allow for the agricultural developed regions to provide for the oil driven regions. In return those short of oil will be a market for the oil driven regions. This type of integration makes the region less dependent on foreign nations outside the region.

8. The research, adoption and productivity on Genetically Modified (GM) crops should also be started, in order that the region develops as a world leader in such an area.

The Dilemmas of Societal Cohesion

The dominance of secularism over the world for the last 150 years has resulted in all discussions over society to be coloured by its views. Women, their rights, integration, dealing with minorities and creating societal cohesion can only be solved by secularism, democracy and human rights we are told. The cases of Iraq and Afghanistan, where Western intervention has taken place have been experimental grounds for the imposition of democracy, freedom, rights for women and the protection of minorities. In this section on society the Islamic position on women, sectarianism and minorities will be scrutinised against secularism, which according to the West our lands so desperately need. Western ideas on cohesion have a number of problems, these include:

1. 'Equality' is limited in regulating relations between men and women

Today the concept of equality remains the benchmark for organising the relationship between men and women and the tool utilised for women's rights. From a historical perspective great significance and importance has been assigned to the discussion of 'equality', and to the specific meaning it has come to assume, by western writers.

Christian theology, a pillar of Europe's medieval monarchies, played a pivotal role in forming Europe's confused perspectives on women. The Decretum Gratiani, which formed the basis of Church law for nearly eight hundred years between 1140 and 1917, assigned roles and duties on the basis that "sin came into the world through them (women)" and that **"because of original sin they (women) must show themselves submissive"**. Industrialisation did not liberate women from their historical treatment but merely compounded their subordination. In this historical context equality, when first suggested, was very controversial. Soon, the equality debate established the framework by which Europe was to deal with the prevailing subjugation of women and correct the historical imbalance. Therefore the correcting of a historical prejudice became the basis for defining relationships between men and women.

Equality effectively meant equal political, economic, and social rights and opportunities, such as those to independent education, employment and political representation. The 'division of labour', between the female as housewife and the bread-winning male, was deplored as a symbol of subjugation and patriarchy (male dominated society) and a consequence of the growing injustices of the industrial revolution. Liberal individualism (preference of individual over society) therefore, was the bedrock on which classical theories of women's emancipation were founded and which now form the foundations of modern perceptions.

The problem actually lies in the assertion that neither men nor women are inferior to one another. Taken in isolation this is a very simple, indeed obvious, truth but correcting historical prejudice alone cannot be a basis for defining relationships between people. The simple assertion that men and women are equal (i.e. that women

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are not inferior to men) alone is exceptionally simplistic once its historical context is considered. It also leaves a number of unanswered questions. It does not address how best men and women can co-operate to forge a cohesive society. In the wider context equality alone is very limited in handling disputes and organising the relationships that naturally arise between people. A simple assertion of human equality provides no guidance on the issue of difference and this fact gives rise to a need for additional, more elaborate, ideas and principles. In reality the call for equality is nothing more than making man the benchmark to aspire to – the call for equality is oppression itself.

Equality presupposes perceived differences between men and women to be a social construct, not a biological fact. Historically in Europe, there have been some absurd assumptions, not facts, about perceived differences between men and women (whether or not women possessed deficient intelligence, reduced capability for sound verdicts, and a lower capacity to learn and think). A research paper by Prof. Jacqueline Adhiambo-Oduol concluded that: *“A built-in tension exists between this concept of equality, which presupposes sameness, and this concept of sex which presupposes difference. Sex equality becomes a contradiction in terms, something of an oxymoron”*¹⁹

2. Not defining the role of men and women in society causes conflict

The historical problem was the inequality women fared in relation to men, ever since their struggle has always been one of being equal to men in terms of work, pay, opportunities and politics. This has led to an increasing shift in attitudes towards gender roles in society, with the belief that the woman should have as much right to be the breadwinner within a family as the husband. A 1996 Cambridge University study found that the belief that it was the man’s role to earn the money in a family within society fell from 65% in 1984 to 43% in 1994. 45% of British mothers are in paid work and in the US, 78% of women with children between 6 and 17 are in the labour force.

This has naturally fostered a view in society that the one of the most important objectives of life is to pursue a successful career. The belief is that a career gives a woman status and respect within society, so marriage should be delayed or avoided altogether, since it would be a hindrance to her career objectives. Children also should be delayed, or maybe she should not have any at all. The belief here is that motherhood will prevent her chances of promotion or excelling in her career.

Women today fare little better even when it comes to pay. Even though Equal Pay Legislation has been in place for thirty years in the developed countries, women still continue to earn less for doing the same work as men. It also explains why after over a century of calling for equality and women’s rights, the twentieth century in the UK ended with only 4% of judges being women, 11% of managers, and 2% of FTSE 100 directors being women.²⁰

By not defining male-female relations and by leaving such relations to be dominated by freedom i.e. men and women should define their relationships, men and women have begun to compete against each other and many women view themselves through the lens of men i.e. women can do the work men do.

3. Liberal democracy breeds sectarianism

After invading both Iraq and Afghanistan the West argued that only secularism can encapsulate and deal with perceived differences between and within religions, ethnicities and factions. It was argued that adopting Islam in Iraq would make it specific to the Sunni's and this would prejudice the other denomination of Muslims. In this way a constitution was constructed which recognised the differences between the Kurds, Sunnis and the Shi'ah and have institutionalised them into the Iraqi political system. Today in Iraq the government is composed of Sunnis and Shi'ah who fight to protect their own sects and gain advantages for their own people at the expense of the nation. Secularism has divided the country by recognising and institutionalising their differences. Rather than solve tribalism, patriotism and sectarianism, secularism does nothing and actually recognises them giving them legitimacy.

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4. Western models of dealing with minorities cause fissures in society

There are fundamentally two models of integration developed by the secular nations of the West. Multiculturalism dominated relations until the events of 9/11, whilst today varying models of assimilation dominate the Western landscape.

Prejudice and racism was a serious problem in post war reconstruction Europe when a pool of labour was needed from the territories many European nations had colonised. In order to integrate immigrants the promotion of citizenship for newcomers and also new legislation against racial discrimination was pursued to give immigrants a sense of belonging, to make them feel at home and facilitate integration. Hence in Britain just after minority culture was celebrated as 'diversity' with minority activities in private life tolerated as long as minorities accepted the hegemony of indigenous culture and a common cultural framework built on core liberal values in public life. The assumption here was if some tolerance was shown to immigrants then they would partake in society and eventually see themselves as British, for example and adopt British values which included support for the nation's history, policies and all that it stood for.

Multiculturalism became European policy with the aim of integrating immigrants including Muslims. Multiculturalism as a concept recognised ones group and would in fact become a defining factor in recognising people. Multiculturalism can be summed up as "*The recognition of groups by society and the celebration of their diversity in order to equalise relations between minorities and the dominant majority in the conviction that no way of life was correct and all were deserving of equal respect*".

In effect multiculturalism was a grand bargain, citizenship in return for loyalty. However a more fundamental problem with this model, established upon secularism was that it recognised varying beliefs, religions, ethnicities and races – it just believed liberalism was superior. It did not resolve them by refuting them, it merely accepted them, gave them a place in the public sphere – i.e. something to be celebrated.

The flaw with recognising all views under the principle of freedom of belief is that in practice this leads to perpetual conflicts amongst people, as religious beliefs and practices professed by some can be interpreted as offensive and insulting to others. Hence, secular governments are constantly intervening in disputes and resorting to legislation to protect the religious rights of some people, whilst at the same time depriving others. Often, the real benefactors are those individuals, or groups, whose beliefs coincide with the interests of the government, or those who possess the ability to exert influence over the government.

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9/11 put an end to multiculturalism in the West, as more and more governments turned to more assimilation policies to deal with migrant populations. Assimilation follows that a nation's values, history and concepts are virtually imposed upon immigrants in return for citizenship. Whilst the policies of various Western nations differ in the extreme they go to, the perceived threat of Islamic extremism was given wide attention in public debate that was epitomised by hostility towards, and suspicion of, Muslims.

The problem with this model is that it leads to racial tensions, suspicion, bigotry and even death. It leads to the host nation to consider itself superior, something that does not lead to a harmonious society but one that will be fractured. It was a variation of such model that led to concentration camps in the heart of Europe in the past. It also allows national governments from changing at will how it deals with the varying beliefs of immigrants in society. As no laws are fixed, a people, such as the Ummah can be welcomed into Europe and given many benefits when labour was needed, but then anti-terror laws can be passed at another time restricting how Muslims believe in Islam and limit what they can practice. Secularism and any model built upon it will always cause tension rather than creating a unified society.

Islam and Society

Islam has laid down many rules for societal cohesion, these are used to govern the various aspects of an Islamic society. These are explained in a clear and unambiguous manner, which cannot be changed at the whim of any ruler. These fixed rules are:

- In Islam, where men and the woman share similar qualities in their nature, the obligation prescribed to both is the same such as the *salaat* (prayer), *sawm* (fasting), and *Hajj* (pilgrimage). However, where their natures differ then different duties have been prescribed. So, the husband or father has been obligated with the responsibility of protecting the family and providing for them financially. The woman has been obligated with the role, but not

limited to, of ensuring the welfare of the family by nurturing the children and conveying the culture to them.

- Islam has clearly ordained rights and responsibilities for women and men. Islam promotes the role of the woman as a mother, responsible for her household. Hence, those areas of society where women contribute – whether it is politics, medicine, education etc – will have to accommodate and protect the role of mother. A solid family structure is the bedrock of a stable society. In western societies the pressures on women to be economically productive has undermined this, to the cost of the whole of society, as well as creating huge pressures and conflicts of interests.
- The Qur'an and the hadith have clearly outlined the rights of women, which have been fixed and cannot be changed, amended or reformed, these include:
 - the right to inherit
 - the right to keep her family name,
 - the right to maintenance and accommodation
 - the right to choose her spouse
 - receive dowry
 - the right to engage in politics
 - stand for a number of positions in government
 - receive an education
 - Work
 - gain employment
 - run a businesses, and
 - invest her wealth

All these rights are the duty of the state to protect.

- From a societal perspective Islam views all the inhabitants as humans rather than looking at their ethnicities or race. As a result all those who reside in the Islamic territories are viewed as citizens, irrespective of creed, colour or ethnicity. Citizenship is based on residency rather than birth or marriage. All those who hold citizenship are subjects of the State, their guardianship and the management of their affairs is the duty of the State, without any discrimination. Every person holding citizenship of the Islamic State enjoys the full rights decreed for them by the Shari'ah, whether he is Muslim or not. Anyone not holding citizenship is deprived of these rights, even if he/she were Muslim.
- With regards to non-Muslims citizens, they are not interfered with regarding their beliefs and worship. They are treated according to their beliefs in matters related to diet and adornment within the general frame work of the law. Disputes related to marriage and divorce for non-Muslims are dealt with by appointing judges from themselves in courts set up by the State. In the public sphere Islam enforces its rules on every citizen Muslim and non-Muslim alike without prejudice. In this way all citizens are subject to the same rules in the public sphere.

- The *Jizyah* is levied on male, mature Non-Muslim citizens of the Islamic territories who have the means to pay, it is a graduated payment that can be set at different levels based on the person's prosperity. It is a pledge by which the state is responsible for the security, lives, property, beliefs and honour of non-Muslims. Ahl al-Dhimmah within the Islamic territories will be elected to the Council of the Ummah and have the right to vocalise their issues and concerns with regard to the implementation of Islamic laws upon them.
- Islam has laid down a standard to tackle sectarian differences in Islamic society. Islam recognises there will be differences in some aspects of legal matters. This is not something new and in fact is something that led to the development of Islamic thought, fiqh and usool in the past.
- Iktilaaf may exist over a number of matters however differences do not exist in the basic issues such as Allah (swt) existence, Angels, Books, Heaven and Hell and the like. Therefore there is the qati' – an evidence that is conclusive and the indefinite. Whatever ones madhab, sect or group, adopts as an opinion, this must be based on some evidence and then such evidences must not contradict something that is absolutely qati. If this is the case then one can hold such a view as it is based in Islamic daleel, even if others believe it to be weak. This is because any opinion which has daleel and does not contradict definite evidences is an Islamic opinion. The Khilafah will not institute an adopted view on the aqeedah when all the various groups across the Islamic lands have the same aqeedah.

The Dilemmas of Independence

One of the driving factors of the uprising in the Arab world has been the fact that the rulers of the region have always been propped up by the West. Whilst the colonial nations may have physically left the region and given so called independence to their colonial territories in reality only the form of colonialism has changed. The West came to rely on agent rulers and the use of economic aid, money and projects to keep their influence in these territories. The armies of the Muslim lands, the monarchs and ruling families received more support from London, Washington and Paris than their own capitals.

Unfortunately many in the Muslim world, unaware of the real nature of Western involvement in the Muslim world are calling for more Western engagement in the region. The Muslim World needs to chart its own independent course in foreign policy, not be a vassal or conduit for the US or Europe. The Muslim World's future lies as a major world power that constitutes a quarter of the world's population, who control key strategic waterways and who sit on a majority of the world's energy reserves. How can the Muslim world confront the challenges that will emerge in the 21st century from the decline of the US, the EU, and the BRIC states? This chapter looks at what the West really means by exporting democracy to the world and why and how the Muslim lands can chart an independent course for themselves.

Democracy and Colonialism

Whilst the Muslim world has constantly been told that the West supports its right to self determination, elections, freedom and democracy, this in reality has never been the case and this is not because of corrupt leaders in Washington, London or Paris, but because these values are in reality just for their homeland. In the Muslim territories the West has actively supported the likes of Gaddafi, Mubarak and Ben Ali, who protected Western interests in their respective countries at the expense of the domestic population. This is no deviation from liberal values, in fact this is complete adherence to their values.

Thomas Jefferson quite accurately pointed out: *"We believe no more in Bonaparte's fighting merely for the liberties of the seas than in Great Britain's fighting for the liberties of mankind. The object is the same, to draw to themselves the power, the wealth and the resources of other nations."* The ability of European nations to develop their shipping industries allowed many of them to conquer vast territories. Europe became very rich, became engaged in very far-flung empire-building that redefined the human condition and became very good at making war. In short, Europe went from decline to the engine of the world. At home, Europe's growing economic development was exceeded only by the growing ferocity of its conflicts. Abroad, Europe had achieved the ability to apply military force to gain economic progress. The brutal exploitation of wealth from some places, such as South America, the thorough subjugation and imposed trading systems in places such as East and South Asia created the foundation of the modern order.

Introduction of Democracy (Years when universal suffrage was achieved)

New Zealand	1907
Denmark	1915
Sweden	1918
UK	1928
France	1946
Germany	1946
Italy	1946
Belgium	1948
USA	1965

When democracy was first introduced in the West it was confined to a very small minority of land and property-owning men with an unequal number of votes apportioned according to a scale based on property, educational achievement and age. In the US, black males were only given voting rights in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 after the civil rights movement. Although they were permitted to vote in 1870 by the fifteenth amendment to the constitution which would not deny vote to anyone on account of race and colour, Southern states were disfranchised through the use of poll tax and property conditions by central government.

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In 1800 which is considered the peak of Britain's colonial superiority only 3% of Britain's population had the right to vote. Only voters who owned sizable areas of land in a patchwork of districts created during medieval times could elect members to the House of Commons. This system denied the vote to merchants, manufacturers, and skilled labourers who did not own land. Regions that had been prosperous hundreds of years earlier were overrepresented in Parliament while many new urban centres had no representation at all. Some parliamentary seats were virtually owned by individuals. By 1867 13% of the population could vote. It would take until 1928 (another 61 years) before men and women were given equal voting rights. Democracy most certainly came after development and played no role in the rise of Britain.

With the use of industrial promotion strategies, Britain, when it reached its pinnacle in 1800, was navigating the seas in search of riches around the globe. This programme of aggressive colonisation entrenched Britain's position in the world and changed battles from being fought for territories to offshore markets. It was this colonial war machine that drove a large chunk of Britain's scientific research, innovation, new ways of organising labour and military strategy. The liberal values which are trumpeted as the source of Britain's development arrived after achieving global domination. It was only after Britain achieved global supremacy that it championed free trade and this was to gain access to foreign markets. Democracy most certainly came after development rather than being the catalyst that launched the British Empire.

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The Capitalist regimes in the western world, have always built their foreign policies upon corporate interests. Such colonial policies exist for them to maintain their own dominance in the world – and to exploit and pillage weaker countries; by economic, political and military means. Support of tyrannical regimes is but one tool in this wider centuries old policy, in which the governments of Britain, France and the United States became true world leaders. The twentieth century is arguably history's bloodiest century – with two World Wars, a war in Vietnam and other proxy-wars

played out between the super powers of the day. It is the century which was dominated by two ideologies – that of Godless Communism, and that of profit driven Capitalism. A century when wars raged, brutal regimes supported, famine flourished, and people starved despite the massive wealth in the world.

Colonialism is the method liberal democracies use to propagate and export their values. Since the emergence of Capitalism in Europe Colonialism has had a permanent presence in their foreign policies. The ends always justifies the means, even at exploiting the conquered peoples, be it Guantanamo Bay, extraordinary rendition, supporting dictators, arming them and turning a blind eye to them when they torture their own people using arms and chemicals from Western factories.

The only difference between the Western secular nations is the extent of their exploitation. Colonialism is imposing political, military, cultural and economic authority over the conquered peoples for the sake of their exploitation. Until WW2 the West relied on direct military domination as was seen in the scramble for Africa in the 19th century, this was considered old colonialism (traditional colonialism). However with many in the colonial territories rising up against such exploitation the West turned to more covert means of exploitation, which focussed on placing agent rulers into power, undertaking coups and utilising more economic tools to maintain influence such as loans, development projects and institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank playing direct roles in the development of the economies of former colonial territories. However the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan has seen the US return to the use of its military to dominate these countries. It used its military might to subjugate the host countries. She used this pretext to construct military bases in her colonies (Iraq and Afghanistan) so as to safeguard her influence in them.

Depending on the nation conducting colonialism on a number of occasions exploiting the peoples was for its sake, whilst on some occasions it was a means to spreading liberal values. In the scramble for Africa there was no spreading of Western values but competition between secular nations to exploit the people of the continent and to exploit their resources. Whilst in the Muslim world there were active attempts to spread liberal values amongst the people in order that they leave Islam. This is why the West has always had cordial relations in the Muslim lands with the Muslim rulers who are the least democratic in the world. The Saudi monarchy has never been on the receiving end of Western criticism for never having had national elections. The same policy has been pursued with the monarchy in Jordan and the Gulf states. The West turned the other way when Hosni Mubarak was rigging elections or receiving dignitaries from other brutal regimes.

Colonialism today is so sophisticated that many army personnel are trained in the West, whilst the elite in our lands travel to the West to gain education. It is these individuals who then see progress as opening their economies to Western corporations and those who call for more Western secular ideas to penetrate their own countries. In effect such peoples minds became colonised. This is a big success for the West as these families, monarchs and individuals hand over their country to the West, this is colonialism at its peak as it does not require an army or military, these peoples protect Western secular interests knowingly and unknowingly.

This is why the Muslim world must chart an independent course for itself, otherwise it will remain a battleground for Western exploitation. For the West the Muslim world with its extensive mineral

wealth and the possessor of an alternative set of values for governance, a formidable possibility exists in the Ummah if the West allowed it to develop, allowed it to become independent and allowed it to elect its own rulers - it would be the end of Western interference in the Muslim lands – which is just too much of an opportunity to give up

Islamic Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is taking care of the affairs of a people externally. This consists of relations with other states, peoples and nations, and propagating its values to the world. A nation's foreign policy is all about safeguarding the entity of a state and its people.

The basis of the Islamic foreign policy consists of taking the message of Islam to every people and every nation. For Allah (swt) says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ

"O Messenger! Proclaim (the Message) which has been sent to you from your Lord. And if you do not, then you have not conveyed his Message." (Al-Ma'idah, 5:67)

As foreign policy is a State's relationship with other states, this relationship entails looking after the foreign affairs of the Ummah. The Islamic State's foreign policy is based on a fixed concept that does not change. This is the propagation of Islam and the conveyance of the Message to every nation and every society. This is the very basis of the Islamic State's foreign policy. The basis never changes and never differs or varies no matter who rules the State. This basis has always been maintained and it has been carried out at all times, from the time when the Messenger of Allah (saw) settled in Madinah to the last day of the 'Uthmani Khilafah.

The Messenger of Allah (saw) set up the policy of the Islamic State on the basis of spreading Islam since the very first day he (saw) arrived in Madinah. He (saw) signed treaties in order to concentrate on extending the Message in the Hijaz. He (saw) signed the treaty of al-Hudaybiyah with the Quraysh in order to spread the Message in the Arabian Peninsula. He (saw) sent envoys to the countries outside the Arabian Peninsula with the aim of establishing relations based on the spreading of Islam, by inviting other nations to embrace it. In the time of the Khulafa' they also established relations with states and people beyond the Islamic lands on the basis of spreading Islam, and they too continued to carry the Message of Islam to the world. All the Muslim rulers who came to power competed in the spreading of Islam. The Ummayyads took the banner of Islam to Northern Africa and Spain, whilst the Abbasids took Islam to Afghanistan, Al Hind and the Far East. The Uthmani Khilafah then took Islam to most of Europe.

Allah (swt) in the Qur'an has designated the spreading of Islam and the delivery of its message to mankind. The application of Islam within the Islamic lands is what is to be delivered to the lands outside the Islamic territories. Islam is not spread for the sake of filling the treasury, expanding the borders or gaining resources. The Islamic texts have laid out a clear methodology of spreading

Islam, this methodology aims to propagate Islam in order to make it supreme, so the world adopts it. Islam foreign policy is fundamentally different to what we see of the secular West in that it looks to make the territories and peoples outside the Islamic territories unify with it, where the people become one people and one nation. Islam is applied upon the new territories as an indivisible part of the Islamic lands, colonialism, imperialism or the partial exporting of Islam all contradict Islam. Implementing Islam carries the risk, its threat to the established international order requires all contingency planning is formulated. Western states have a history of invading the Muslim world, using fabricated excuses about global security. Historically, the Ummah under the Khilafah faced hostility from many of them, even though it established trade and treaties with others. The state therefore needs to ensure, from day one, that all capabilities (military, political, economic, media, and critical infrastructure) are used to defend the State against the inevitable propaganda, political and even military attacks. The Khilafah state is an Islamic state, and the limits of its actions are the limits of Islam, which prohibits the targeting of innocent civilians; consequently the State will exclude this when developing any detailed strategy.

With these points in mind the following considerations can be used to develop a detailed policy:

- The Ummah globally is to be informed that they are represented by one Khaleefah, the Khilafah will need to get into a position where every Muslim in the world is the responsibility of the Khaleefah, any attack on any Muslim should result in the intervention of the Khilafah, geographical borders are to be irrelevant.
- The Current rulers in the Muslim world are to be told to relinquish their roles as Islam demands one ruler, they will be informed the Khilafah will annex their countries eventually whether they relinquish their roles or not, This is to be done publicly. The aim here is to address all the Muslims across the world, whatever their ethnicity, colour and nationality and win their allegiance.
- From a practical perspective the Khilafah will need to take over all civil and ruling organs of state, across the Muslim world. This has traditionally always been the case when an occupying force took over a nation. The four position's of ruling – the ruler, chief judge, governors and delegated assistants, will be undertaken only by those who understand the Islamic ruling system, all those working in posts other than ruling – which will be 95% of people, they will be given Islamic policies to implement, clearly derived from the Islamic sources. It should be remembered that for nearly 200 years the Muslim world has had governments that were not fit for purpose
- The Khilafah through its economic polices will inshallah rapidly develop. With the aim of reunification through persuasion and economic success the Ummah globally should drown out any calls from those who do not want to reunify with the Khilafah. A strong Khilafah will be a powerful magnet for many nations across the world.
- The complete implementation of Islam, the execution of the different Islamic systems simultaneously, all will inevitably solve the Muslims world's economic problems, social issues, justice and domestic development issues. Such an occurrence, which has been almost

absent for 200 years will melt the whole Ummah into one Ummah, deal with all those who have doubts over the applicability of Islam and make it very difficult for any Muslim to undermine the Khilafah. In the long term the successful implementation of Islam, the solving of problems, economic development etc will have huge global implications, as this would mean there is now an alternative way to deal with national issues with an alternative ideology.

- Many domestic developments have global implications. Industrialisation means a nation can engage in territorial expansion or support the development of allies. For the Khilafah the implementation of the Islamic ideology is the challenge to Capitalism.

Military Strength

A defence industry is critical for ones global standing as it deters any foreign aggressor who may have designs on a nation. For this reason all of the world's powers have developed defence industries in order to achieve such an aim. This is how one practically becomes independent. A nations defence capabilities also gives them global projection. As the Muslim world represents Islam it is essential the strength of Islam is projected globally, so that those who have designs on the Ummah should consider the existence of its deterrent force so powerful as to render success in an attack too doubtful to be worthwhile.

The military industry is also important because it is the heart of technological innovation. Common items such as the internet, plasma TV, Radio, personal computers and aeroplanes were all developed in military industries. As the region will represent Islam it will need to project its strength through technological progress.

Expanding the defence industry also creates jobs and wealth. This is because the defence industry will all be broken down into a supply chain that will turn many territories into an assembly line for a manufacturing-Industrial complex. This will bring jobs, contracts and money into every area of the region and at the same time contribute to the overall aim of projecting an image of strength and deterrence.

Looking across the Muslim lands Pakistan, Iran, Egypt and Turkey are the most advanced military industries, however they do not compare with the West. All of these countries have a large reliance on the US for military equipment. Pakistan has been able to develop WMD's due to an enemy across its border and the ability to deliver such destruction through an advanced tactical ballistic missile programme. Pakistan has also developed a 4th generation fighter jet the JF-17 with China. Iran's most developed military inventory is its missile programme. Turkey's defence industry is relatively small, and lacks efficiency and quality in the design and production of

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weapons systems. It has long relied on purchases and co-operation with foreign partners. Turkey's most ambitious undertaking has been to assemble American F-16's domestically. The Egyptian army, air force and navy field a wide range of the most sophisticated Western arms. Egypt continues to be a major recipient of US foreign military aid, which it uses to acquire largely US made military equipment. Egypt assembles extensive Western military equipment, however, it still has no armaments design industry to speak of, its defence industry remains largely dependent on co-production deals.

In summery aside from some development in the Muslim lands, no major push has been undertaken or targeted to build an indigenous defence industry, which is crucial for self reliance. Due to the costs involved and years needed as well as insincere rulers the US has armed the region and brought their loyalty. It should be remembered why the US has armed the likes of Saudi Arabia and Egypt to the teeth, Strategic Forecasting the private intelligence agency explained this: *"The greater the role the United States takes in building up and sustaining an ally's military force, as well as the more prominent and overt the US military's role in defensive scenarios and war plans, the greater the American influence will be in its allies' individual and collective defence. That influence can translate into significant US input in the structure, posture and disposition within an alliance. This can include orienting regional militaries to less critical, but manpower- or resource-intensive mission areas, while allowing Washington to focus on maintaining capabilities it considers more suited to its own interests and capabilities. This also ensures that Washington maintains control over strategic or decisive capabilities."*²¹

There are a number of policies that could be pursued to change this situation, all with their advantages and disadvantages. Fundamentally The Muslim lands need to ensure technology and skills are transferred to the region. This can be achieved through:

- Joint ventures with foreign nations
- Reverse engineering
- Industrial-corporate espionage
- Through the offer of incentives
- Via trial and error

Due to the worlds reliance on the regions fossil wealth, this would be the most attractive method, especially for countries such as China that have a big dependency on such minerals. Bilateral deals could be agreed which undercut the oil market price in return for technology.

Any joint venture should ensure technology and skills are actually transferred, but this will only take place if nations are willing to undertake such ventures with the Muslim world.

Whilst all countries deny they engage in reverse engineering, most do. China and Russia have done this successfully on a number of military applications. The challenge here is to actually gain possession of the foreign technology in the first place, irrespective of this, it is a viable policy to pursue.

In a similar manner industrial espionage can be pursued, this allows a nation to develop much quicker by stealing technology blueprints, however this requires individuals, as China has found, it takes many years to work through the host nations system.

The most appropriate policy would be to use the regions oil wealth to attract such technology and then use this as a basis to expand the defence industry.

It should be remembered that the biggest problem in this area is that no policy has been targeted. Pakistan, Iran, Nigeria, Egypt, Indonesia, Turkey, Algeria, Malaysia, Tunisia, Bangladesh and many of the former Soviet Republics all have basic space agencies conducting atmosphere research and potential satellite launches. The point being targeting the space industry has led to some developments in this area, targeting an independent defence industry is what has been missing in the in the Muslim lands.

Industrialisation

Industrial development has 3 common characteristics:

1. To industrialise, raw materials and minerals are necessary. It is primarily heavy industry that will convert minerals into useful materials. The need to extract and refine the right minerals from crude oil, coal and iron leads to the development of refineries and heavy industries.
2. The refineries, complexes and plants are then needed that convert raw materials into steel and cement as well as materials that will be turned into finished products. It is this stage where technology is developed and historically has been driven by the military industries.
3. Technical knowledge is then needed with regards to the processes to achieve this. For this the Western world invests billions into research and development to ensure they remain on the cutting edge of technological development.

There is a fourth issue and probably the most important that allows all of the above to occur - namely the motive. Industrialisation requires the masses to contribute extensively to the process, it needs to be funded and may require great sacrifice to kick start the process. Colonialism and superiority is what drove the British Empire to industrialise, whilst civil war and independence led to US industrialisation, whilst the aims of communism allowed the Soviet Union to become a super power.

The Muslim world attempted socialism in the 1950's, aside from a few large projects, the Islamic world has remained where it was prior to the experiment. The export led strategies of South East Asia were attempted in Indonesia, the Sub Continent and many of the African nations and further indebted these nations causing much misery and poverty. Today the Muslim economies are largely commodity and service based without hardly any established industry. We see that whilst the Western Capitalist world has predominantly service based economies; this was achieved after the establishment of an industrial base.

The Muslim world today does not lack the mineral resources necessary to industrialise, in fact the Muslim world has been blessed with large reserves of some of the world's most important minerals. The Muslim world today possesses 74% of the world's oil reserves, more than the rest of the world combined, as well 30% of the world's gas.

The Muslim lands in no way lack the raw materials necessary to industrialise. Across the Muslim world there has been some industrial development however the lack of direction for the Muslim economies has resulted in very little in the way of industrial development relative to the raw materials.

Today the path to industrialise is not monopolised by the West, in the last 100 years a number of nations have been able to industrialise very rapidly due to the blueprint to industrialise being available for all. It took Britain nearly 100 years to industrialise, it took Germany and the US nearly 60 years to industrialise. It took Japan nearly 50 years, whilst today China has managed to industrialise in less than 30 years, India is still industrialising.

The Islamic world can very easily catch up with the technological developments of the developed world by making better use of the resources present in the Islamic lands. All so called obstacles can actually be overcome through a policy of reunification. Unity amongst the Ummah globally is something Islam has obliged through many verses of the Qur'an.

The Muslim world has formidable militaries, significant economic resources and critical locations that underpin key trade routes. There are therefore extensive diplomatic and security strategies that can be deployed to maintain the security of the state from external attack.

Strategic Issues

The main strategic threats the ummah faces are:

1. American interference in the Muslim lands?
2. Dealing with the rogue status label?
3. An imminent attack from the West?
4. International debts?

1. How can the Muslim world end American interference in the Muslim lands?

This can be achieved by eliminating US tools in the region. Since the US came to the Muslim lands it has used agent rulers, economic aid, money, funding and military sales as key tools in keeping influence in the region. Each of these will need to be deconstructed and removed.

Russia has successfully achieved this in its region. Since Vladimir Putin came to power in 1998 he has worked to remove the US from Russia's periphery, this is all the former Soviet States that then US showered with economic aid, deals and money to bring into America's fold, away from the Russia. Russia achieved this by firstly stabilising its domestic situation, Putin brought all the oligarchs under the Kremlins control, those that didn't are either in prison or have left Russia to go into exile. Russia used its energy reserves to bring the likes of Ukraine and Lithuania under its control. It used the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), a Moscow-led security group to integrate with and project influence throughout Kazakhstan, Belarus, Azerbaijan and Armenia via security coordination. Where such policies failed it waged war with some nations, as it did with Georgia, cut off energy supplies to Lithuania backed coups in Ukraine and overthrew the government in Kyrgyzstan. In this way Russia has frustrated American plans whilst strengthening itself.

In a similar manner China in February 2010 threatened to expel Google and end its contracts with Boeing if arms sales continued between the US and Taiwan. The US in the end was forced to not go ahead with the deal.

Both countries are examples of using their resources and clout strategically. The Arab world possesses over 70% of the world's oil and over 50% of the world's gas, any reduction in global production would hurt the US economy significantly as it is the world's largest consumer of these. Using the regions resources strategically is the way to remove US influence.

Most of America's power today is a mirage. Unable to defeat a rag tag force in Afghanistan after a decade of war and unable to pull itself out of the 'great recession,' America even turned to the corrupt Arab rulers who wrote a cheque for \$221 billion dollars, bailing out the US during the global financial crisis. The ace cards are all with the Muslim lands, America's trump cards of agent rulers and money are can easily become impotent, just like the US is fast becoming.

2. How can the Ummah deal with the political and rogue status label?

The rogue status label has been developed in the capitals of the West to justify interference in the Muslim lands and to subvert any call for the return of Islam. In places such as Pakistan the successive regimes have joined the West in maligning Islam calling it Talibanisation or terrorism. The agenda by the West has been to link violence with Islam and therefore any call for Islam is a call for violence.

Dealing with this requires Khilafah state to go on the offensive and expose this lie by exposing the plots, plans and actions of the West. The West has engaged in many heinous crimes that no state in the world has exposed or taken advantage of. The US lied about WMD's in Iraq in order to gain the countries coveted black gold. Its greed showed no limits when it was exposed in the Abu Gharib scandal. The West's cosy relationship with the likes of Ben Ali, Gaddafi and Mubarak has never been used by another state to embarrass the West.

There is no need for the Ummah to explain whether its rogue or not, this discussion suits the Capitalist West as it keeps all discussion away from the West's colonialism and crimes in the Muslim world. Subverting all the countries where Islam is deeply rooted is a strategy by the West to malign the return of Islam. Implementing Islam and showing its true colours will be enough to refute Western claims.

It should be remembered that the huge energy reserves in the Muslim world should be used to divide the Western Capitalist nations. This is exactly what Saudi Arabia did in 2006 when it threatened to suspend its £43 billion al-Yamamah arms deal, which was being paid for by the delivery of up to 600,000 barrels of crude oil per day to the UK government. Saudi Arabia was threatening to renege the arms deal with Britain if its Serious Fraud Office (SFO) didn't withdraw its investigation into the deal with BAE. Tony Blair realising the ramifications to the British economy, jobs and energy very quickly ordered SFO to drop the corruption inquiry into the al-Yamamah deal.

3. How can the Ummah resist an imminent attack from the West?

The last decade has shown not just to the world but even Americans that resorting to military action, as the Neocons did has actually weakened America's military prowess. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have exposed America's weakness. America has come to rely on the Muslim rulers, their airspace and supply lines. In Afghanistan the US has failed to subdue the Taliban who lack the military capability relative to the US.

The Muslim rulers happily gave the US access to military bases and airspace to conduct its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and these bases have allowed the US to supply its troops on the front lines in its war effort.

The Muslim lands need to mitigate the possibilities of an attack ever occurring, this can be achieved by annexing and expanding very quickly, so the US will then be dealing with a much larger area. As Afghanistan and Iraq has shown, the longer the supply lines have to travel the weaker the front lines. It should also be borne in mind that the US makes use of a number of military bases that have

been provided to them by the Muslims' rulers, cutting such supply lines will severely hinder US capabilities.

The ultimate deterrent is developing Weapons of Mass destruction. It would be very unlikely the US would undertake such actions if it knows the nation in question can respond with such destruction. Libya was forced to give up its pursuit of nuclear weapons in return for being welcomed back into the international community. Whilst possessing Africa's largest oil reserves – which was what the West really had their eyes on, Gaddafi gave up pursuit of WMD's. If Libya possessed WMD's the West would have thought twice about invading the country.

Fundamentally The Ummah will need to work for political unification across the Muslim world, which is an Islamic obligation and aspiration of hundreds of millions of Muslims. Unification would leverage the benefits of people, resources and geography. A unified Muslim world will then be better able to compete with the US, the EU and the growing powers of India, China and Russia.

4. How can the Ummah deal with international its debts?

Many of the Muslim countries owe debts to international institutes which continue to consume the bulk of government expenditure. Whilst the Muslim world is full of mineral resources many leaders squandered such natural wealth and took loans to fund their own regimes. Their lack of policies for development has meant future generations are due to repay such loans, this reality on its own has meant the West has a say and influence over economic policy in the Muslim world. The important issue to understand is such wealth went into the personal accounts of the rulers in the Muslim world and the Muslim Ummah saw nothing in terms of infrastructure development or economic development. The Khilafah will inherit such debts and has a number of options open to them with regards the debts. As such debts are used as a political tool to handcuff the Third world. The Khilafah should also view the issue politically and not merely from an economic perspective and organise a whole economy to pay back such debts.

The Muslim world in reality never needed such loans. The Muslim lands are full of natural resources which would have generated billions for the government. By being bankrupt with any vision for their states the corrupt rulers continued to take loan after loan as they had no other sources of revenue to carry out the very basic of government functions.

The Muslim world in reality never needed such loans. The Muslim lands are full of natural resources which would have generated billions for the government. By being bankrupt with any vision for their states the corrupt rulers continued to take loan after loan as they had no other sources of revenue to carry out the very basic of government functions.

As the Khilafah is a Sovereign state it will independently decide on how such debts will be repaid (if they are at all). All IMF and World Bank as well as foreign free market influence will be deconstructed and removed. No foreign institutes are allowed to organise the Khilafah's economy or define for it the means to repay its debts. If repayment is taken as the policy the original sums will only be repaid, without the interest and the corrupt rulers who took out the loans will contribute to such repayments. Pakistan's coals reserves which are the equivalent of over 600 billion barrels of

oil could pay of its debts 12 times over. Indonesia is amongst the world's largest exporters of coal, fresh fruit, tin and liquefied natural gas, the export earnings on their own could pay off their debts. Turkey's agricultural revenue from its agrarian exports is more than ample to pay of their debts. Such minerals when sold on the international markets would have brought in more than enough currency to repay the debt. It is in reality the bankruptcy of the Muslim rulers that has handcuffed future generations.

In summary:

- Independence can only be achieved in the Muslim lands by decoupling all the tools used by the West to interfere in the Muslim lands, such as agent rulers, economic aid and military assistance.
- The Ummah have already begun the process of removing the rulers, they now need to work to develop a self sufficient independent economy with a military capability.
- This deterrent would make it difficult for the US to launch and attack and will place the Islamic lands in a position to define its own destiny and shape the world by taking Islam to the world's nations as its foreign policy
- Only unification and the sharing of complimentary resources, skills and assets would allow an independent and confident future. The Muslim lands are full of mineral resources which fuel the global economy, using these strategically can divide the Capitalist world and used correctly will allow the Muslim world to develop an independent defence industry which can provide security to a unified Muslim world

Conclusions

Allah (swt) said in the Qur'an:

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا ۗ يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا ۗ وَمَنْ كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ

“Allah has promised, to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds, that He will, of a surety, grant them in the land, inheritance (of power), as He granted it to those before them; that He will establish in authority their deen, the one which He has chosen for them and that He will change (their state), after the fear in which they (lived), to one of security and peace: They will worship Me (alone) and not associate any partner with Me. If any do reject Faith after this, they are rebellious and wicked.” (Al Noor:55)

The Arab spring has put to rest the idea that the Muslim Ummah is resigned to the political status quo. After decades of brutal rule and foreign interference the Ummah has arisen from its slumber to seize the moment and usher in a new dawn. As demonstrations still continue in Syria, Bahrain, Yemen and Egypt the world is at a critical juncture as the results of the Arab Spring will have global repercussions.

There should be no doubt that accountable governments, elections and an end to dictatorship are some of the central factors that have driven the Ummah from North Africa to the Middle East to face the bullets of their treacherous rulers. However the slogans of freedom and democracy amongst the Arab populace do not necessarily equate to the West's understanding of freedom and democracy. Rather to the vast majority of protesters freedom is associated with freedom from tyranny and not freedom from the laws of Islam. Similarly democracy is equated with elections and the right to elect ones rulers and not legislation.

In the case of Egypt, the real rulers, the army, removed their 82 year old comrade due to a popular uprising, but they then betrayed their own people by standing with the West and maintained the status quo, albeit with a change of personnel.

David Fromkin, Professor and expert on Economic History at the University of Chicago said about the Muslim world: *“Massive amounts of the wealth of the old Ottoman Empire were now claimed by the victors. But one must remember that the Islamic empire had tried for centuries to conquer Christian Europe and the power brokers deciding the fate of those defeated people were naturally determined that these countries should never be able to organize and threaten Western interests again. With centuries of mercantilist experience, Britain and France created small, unstable states whose rulers needed their support to stay in power. The development and trade of these states were controlled and they were meant never again to be a threat to the West. These external powers then made contracts with their puppets to buy Arab resources cheaply, making the feudal elite enormously wealthy while leaving most citizens in poverty”*²²

The global implications of the Ummah seizing its own destiny has led the West to occupy Libya to ensure the region is never lost by them. This is why the West, on seeing the implications of the Arab spring have been rolling back their support of dictator rulers in return for a more open system – but one that still maintains their interests. They have continued to find individuals and groups who are prepared to represent Western interests in the region.

The dilemma the Ummah faces in reality is continued foreign interference from the West and traversing the obstacles in order to establish Islam, which is indigenous to the region. Whilst many in the West and the East argue that true Western values have not been tried correctly in the Muslim lands and giving them an opportunity is the future of the region.

Case studies from the cradle of civilisation in the West show a deluge of problems, from political apathy, permissiveness in society, sexual crimes. All this has taken place in what many call the post-modern world where capitalism has faced no challenges ever since the demise of communism.

In the economic sphere poverty, debt, boom and bust, wealth misdistribution and financial crises dominate the landscape. The West may dominate the global economy, technological progress and science, all this takes place in a world where half of the population are living in poverty and as the West drowns in a sea of debt due to a decade of excess.

We also find Western societies unable to convince those who have migrated and settled in places such as Paris, Berlin, Rome and London of their values, even though many arrived on the European plains over 50 years ago. This has bred an atmosphere of forced assimilation, but also shows the failure of secularism to encompass different people.

The choice before the Ummah is between a system developed and constructed in the West – which the West would greatly love to export to the region and a return back to their glorious history which came under the rule of Islam. The solutions Islam provides are unique which if applied would very quickly change the status quo in the region if not the world.

The separation of money and politics will route out corruption, whilst Islam's detailed rules on revenues and how these should be prioritised when it comes to distribution will create a balanced society. Islam has laid down a clear delineation for government intervention and has fixed rules for land ownership. Through the process of Ijtihad there will be a drive for innovation and advancement using Islam as a basis for ruling on any new issues.

The most important aspect of Islam relative to the West is that its rules are fixed and do not change, this brings stability and certainty and allows a level playing field within the Islamic territories irrespective of colour, ethnicity, religion and belief. It is this system of governance that the Muslim Ummah needs to usher in, irrespective of what the West and its propaganda machine says about their system. This will ensure the Ummah does not go from one dilemma – the rulers, to another – the flawed system of Capitalism.

Allah (swt) reminded the ummah:

فَإِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا إِنَّ مَعَ الْعُسْرِ يُسْرًا

Truly, with hardship comes ease; truly, with hardship comes ease. (Al Inshirah: 5-6)

Notes

- ¹ See <http://www.hizb.org.uk/what-is-khilafah/the-khilafah>
- ² Scot Stewart, 'Dispatch: Tactical breakdown of Saleh assassination attempt,' Stratfor, June 2011, <http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/20110608-dispatch-tactical-breakdown-saleh-assassination-attempt>
- ³ Guardian, A road map for Syria(English), Guardian.co.uk, June 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/interactive/2011/jun/30/syria-roadmap-assad-us-english>
- ⁴ US dept of state, Hilary Clinton interview with Lucia Annunziata of "In Mezz'Ora," May 2011, <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2011/05/162817.htm>
- ⁵ 'Syrian opposition conference calls for international intervention,' Voltairenet.org, June 2011, <http://www.voltairenet.org/Syrian-opposition-conference-calls>
- ⁶ Syrian Opposition, more cohesive, the US says, AFP, August 2011, http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5ijMaBdr_bi6VEi3AZqLd7ug0oTgw?docId=CNG.83ee0e0b78131c032c34c66cff72e552.881
- ⁷ Geopolitical Diary: The Intelligence war in Libya, Stratfor, August 2011, http://www.stratfor.com/geopolitical_diary/20110823-intelligence-war-libya
- ⁸ Associated press, 'Qadhafi;s days are numbered,' Politico, August 2011, <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0811/61802.html>
- ⁹ Karen De Young, 'Western nations step up efforts to aid rebels,' Washington Post, April 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/libya-vows-to-fight-any-foreign-troops-on-its-soil-rebuffs-eu-proposal/2011/04/19/AF7GP34D_story.html?hpid=z1
- ¹⁰ Tarek Amara, 'Tunisia elections delayed until October 23rd,' Reuters, June 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/06/08/us-tunisia-election-idUSTRE7571R020110608>
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- ¹³ World Trade Organisation (WTO), country reports, 2010
- ¹⁴ BP Statistical review of energy, June 2011, http://www.bp.com/assets/bp_internet/globalbp/globalbp_uk_english/reports_and_publications/statistical_energy_review_2011/STAGING/local_assets/pdf/statistical_review_of_world_energy_full_report_2011.pdf
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- ¹⁷ www.iariw.org/papers/2006/davies.pdf
- ¹⁸ Catherine Gwin, U.S. relations with the World Bank, 1945-1992, Published in 1994, (Brookings Occasional Papers) Brookings Institute
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- ²⁰ Equal Opportunities Commission July 2003

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